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EMPERORS, PATRIARCHS  
AND SULTANS  
OF CONSTANTINOPLE, 1373-1513

An Anonymous Greek Chronicle  
of the Sixteenth Century

Introduction, Translation, and Commentary

by Marios Philippides

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Archbishop

ΕΙΣ ΠΟΛΛΑ ΕΤΗ, ΔΕΣΠΟΤΑ

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## Introduction

The Eastern Roman Empire, also known as the Byzantine Empire, officially ended its one-thousand-year existence on the afternoon of May 29, 1453, when Mehmed II Fatih, the sultan of the Ottoman Turks, made his triumphal entry into the captured Byzantine capital. Until that day the Byzantine Empire had proven to be one of the most enduring states in the history of mankind, as it had managed to weather the storms of late antiquity and had thus survived the onslaughts of Vandals, Goths, and Huns, while its Western counterpart with Rome at the center had fallen victim to the hordes of barbarians in the fifth century. Soon thereafter, the Roman Empire in the West disintegrated and the vestiges of imperial grandeur were gradually assumed by the Church. In the East, however, there was no interruption. The decline and fall of the Roman Empire in the East was thus postponed for another thousand years, until Constantinople, the Second Rome, was finally seized by the troops of Mehmed II.

Thus, in late antiquity, while Europe was recovering from the death throes of the Roman Empire in the West and a new pattern was emerging, marked by numerous kingdoms, in the East the ancient traditions held firm and Constantinople thrived, in spite of numerous threats, external or internal, that it had to face in its long existence. So strong did this Eastern Empire of the Romans prove that in an early age it even attempted, in the well-known *reconquista* of the sixth century under Justinian, to reclaim the Western portion of the empire and to unite, once more, East and West under one Roman emperor. But by then it was too late for such imperial objectives designed to bring under effective Constantinopolitan control the entire Mediterranean and North Africa in a conscious effort to recreate the Roman Empire at its zenith. With the rise of the Arabs, the Byzantine Empire had to fight for its very existence. Yet in spite of numerous threats and various unstable situations within its own borders, the Byzantine state managed to survive the incursions and invasions of Avars, Slavs, Arabs, Persians, and Bulgars.

In a later period Byzantium's confrontation with the West became inevitable. With the rise of the Holy Roman Empire and its emperor crowned by the pope in the West, the emperor in Constantinople lost prestige and could no longer claim that there was only one emperor over all Christians, the Roman *autokrator*, who reigned in Constantinople over the entire *oikoumene*, the portion of the world inhabited by Christians. Moreover, the schism that separated the Latin from the Orthodox Church and made the patriarch at Constantinople the most influential person in the ecclesiastical affairs of the East did not alleviate any of the growing problems with the West. Byzantium would finally experience, first hand, the West's growing might in the crusading movements of the middle period. Until that time, Byzantium's role in European civilization had been imposing, with a unique presence. Its heritage, which reached all the way to classical and Hellenistic Greece, in addition to a memorable Roman past, had played an influential part in the rising cultures of Europe, especially Russia and the southeast. Byzantium's superior civilization, traditions, and wealth had commanded the respect of other cultures, including that of foes, and had become proverbial in the Middle Ages. But direct contact and actual confrontation with the West had become inevitable. At first, relations between the Byzantines and the crusaders were amiable, as one might expect fellow Christian powers sworn to wage war against the infidels to behave. Eventually, common cause gave way to competition and to strife and culminated in the sack of Constantinople by the crusading armies in 1204. The crusaders took over the imperial capital and established, in the place of the Byzantine Empire, a short-lived Latin Empire. At the same time most of the Byzantine territories in the mainland of Greece and in the islands of the Aegean were carved into Latin fiefs and received Western overlords. The "Age of Frankish Greece" had thus begun. Byzantine civilization, however, did not perish with this Latin invasion. Byzantine governments in exile soon established themselves in the ancient city of Nikaia, in Trebizond, and in Epiros; these states or despotates, as they were called, were determined to continue the struggle in order to recover the imperial capital from the Latins.

In 1261 troops from Nikaia gained entrance into Constantinople and seized the hearth of the ancestral empire. For a short time thereafter, it seemed that the old empire had been resurrected and that the glories of the past might be recreated anew; this was undue optimism. The revived state was not destined for future glory, at least in the military field. It was, and it remained, only a shadow of its former self, at best. From the middle of the fourteenth century the Byzantine state would have to fight for the very possession of its capital, as numerous threats materialized and ominous incidents began to point to the inevitable disintegration that was to come in the fifteenth century. The last dynasty of emperors, the Palaiologi, attempted to reclaim the territories in mainland Greece, concentrating their efforts against the Frankish lords and the rising leaders of Serbia in the Balkan peninsula. In the process, however, the defense of Asia Minor was gradually neglected and many Byzantine cities suddenly found themselves cut off from the capital, surrounded by a hostile countryside; they could not receive effective protection from Constantinople any more. Moreover, even though the Latin lords had been expelled from the imperial capital, Latin influence had not diminished and was still felt in various sectors, including commerce and economy. In time the capital of Byzantium itself came to depend on Italian merchants, as Venice and Genoa steadily took over the trade of the empire and managed to exact important privileges from the Byzantine government. In the midst of this depressing situation, however, there appeared a momentary ray of hope: Shortly before the fall of Constantinople to the Ottomans, while Asia Minor, Thrace, Macedonia, Epiros, and Thessaly had become Turkish *sancaks*, the reigning dynasty of Constantinopolitan emperors managed to bring under Byzantine control the Peloponnesos, the so-called despotate of the Morea, by expelling most Latin lords; even though Venice had retained a few key cities in the peninsula, a Palaiologan ruler governed the Morea from the capital city of Mistra.

Byzantium, nevertheless, failed to check, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the infant power that would eventually rise to destroy the last vestiges of Roman imperial tradition, the Ottoman Turks, who established emirates in Asia Minor in the wake

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of the disintegration of the Seljuk state. One particular emirate, that of Osman or Othman, would eventually outshine the rest and would lay the foundations of Byzantium's successor, the Ottoman state, which was destined to destroy the aging empire, establishing itself firmly in the ashes of the ancient capital of Constantinople.

As the Ottoman Turks expanded and extended their sphere of influence and territorial borders, Byzantium shrank. By the beginning of the fifteenth century the old empire had been reduced to its beleaguered capital, with a few appanages on the shores of the Black Sea, the city of Thessalonike in Macedonia, which was, however, under constant threat, a number of islands in the Aegean, and the distant despotate of the Morea, where, in fact, the Palaiologan policies were meeting with some success, as long as the Ottoman Turks chose not to intervene in the peninsula. Thus, the fate of Byzantium seemed to have been sealed in the reign of Sultan Bayezid I Yıldırım, who was about to receive the surrender of Constantinople when, like a *deus ex machina* from the Orient, Timurlane and his Mongol armies invaded Anatolia and captured Bayezid I in the monumental battle of Ankara in 1402. Without realizing it, the Mongol leader had granted, in one battle, another fifty years of independent existence to Constantinople.

That Byzantium had been unable to check the Ottoman Turks had been obvious to all, especially to its emperors, who were at a loss and had to ask for help in Europe. But the price of Western aid brought, in addition to greater privileges in commerce, an ultimatum that the Orthodox Church submit to the authority of the pope. A serious dilemma then perplexed the ruling dynasty. The return of the Orthodox Church to the fold and submission to the pope might bring Western aid against the sultan; but this course of action would undoubtedly alienate the population of the capital, which had never forgotten the sack of Byzantium by the crusaders of 1204 or the activities of the Latin clergy during the Latin Empire and in Frankish Greece. In fact, the union of the churches was so unpopular in the capital of Byzantium that some viewed Ottoman domination as more desirable than submission to the Western Church and its pope. A comment erroneously attributed to the grand duke of Constantinople, Loukas Notaras,

a confirmed anti-unionist and a very influential courtier, reflects this attitude: "I would rather see, in the middle of our City, the reigning turban of the Turk than the Latin tiara."

The Palaiologan efforts to win support from the West resulted in the alienation of the native population which had traditionally resented the Latins. In the last years of Byzantium, confusion reigned in Eastern ecclesiastical affairs, as the majority of the inhabitants and most of the clergy rose in opposition to the policies of the court. Indicative of this situation is the fact that in the last three years of Constantinople's independent existence there was no patriarch in the capital. The last patriarch, Gregory III Mamas, had felt compelled to leave his post and go to Italy, because of the stiff opposition that he had encountered as a unionist.

In fact, during the siege of Constantinople in 1453 the highest cleric was Cardinal Isidore, a Greek and a confirmed unionist, who had earlier personally espoused Latin doctrine; he was the pope's official representative in the capital. In spite of the "union of the churches," which was formally declared in the presence of the reigning Byzantine emperor at Florence in 1439, effective aid from the West failed to materialize in Constantinople's hour of need. The city itself was in no position to withstand the assaults of the Ottoman troops, whose regiments of janissaries were reputed to be the best fighting force of the period. The emperor probably had no standing army in this late era; private, small armies attached to court nobles, reminiscent of the old, late Roman *bucclarii*, may have existed, in addition to the emperor's household troops, but they were no match for the Ottoman might; no other troops could come from the despotate of the Morea, where an Ottoman invasion kept the Palaiologan despots at bay. When a census was taken in the city, prior to the siege of 1453, the emperor, we are told, was shocked at the number of available men and weapons. The fortifications of Constantinople were formidable and had frustrated attacks in the past but Mehmed II possessed artillery, including the most powerful cannon that had been cast up to that time, introducing the new era of gunpower, which rendered traditional stone fortifications obsolete. Only an organized crusade from the West could save Constantinople. With Mehmed II *ante*

*portas*, Europe failed to react, perhaps underestimating the abilities of the young sultan. Even though Venice and, to some extent, Genoa, as well as private individuals like Giovanni Giustiniani Longo or the Bocchiardi brothers, who came on their own to assist in the defense, provided some relief to the beleaguered capital, no organized crusade to relieve the siege was ever formed and the fleet that had been dispatched by Venice arrived too late, after the sack of the city. The West was shocked by the news of the fall and the elimination of the Byzantine state. Even though Europe had been well-informed about the perils of the Eastern Empire at least as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century when a Byzantine emperor had travelled to France and England in search of aid against the Ottoman Turks, no substantial aid came from Europe to provide Byzantium with an effective defense against the sultan. And this time no *deus ex machina* materialized.

With the elimination of Byzantine Constantinople, the Ottoman Turks began to threaten Europe directly. The subsequent conquests of Mehmed II Fatih, the vanquisher of Constantinople, brought him into mainland Greece and he formally annexed the Palaiologan despotate of the Morea; he attacked Serbia, Wallachia, Bosnia, and Hungary, laying siege to Belgrade; his troops reached even Italy, when a force under one of his pashas captured and held Otranto for one year. Moreover, the presence of the Turks was strongly felt by the Knights of Saint John in Rhodes, who remained on the alert and managed to repel a strong Ottoman attack against the island. It is no wonder that many Europeans at that time thought that the sultan, whom they styled "the Grand Turk," was God's punishment for their sins. After the fall of Constantinople, the Grand Turk seemed invincible and it was widely rumored that he did not propose to stop before he had achieved world domination.

Thus ended the Palaiologan era, a coda to the Roman Empire in the East, marked by depression and by occasional acts of heroism which have succeeded in moving even critics of Byzantine civilization, such as Edward Gibbon. For the Greek population of Constantinople, the survivors of the sack, and for the inhabitants of the Greek mainland and the Morea, the long period

of Ottoman domination began. Early on the peasants in Greek lands may have found this change of masters temporarily less demanding but eventually they came to resist their overlords and numerous revolts in Greece occurred from the sixteenth century to the war of independence in the beginning of the nineteenth.

The Ottoman conquest of Byzantium had other effects on the European powers. Aside from the fact that all buffers between Europeans and Turks had been removed, the fall of Constantinople resulted in a cry for a unified Christendom in order to withstand the onslaught of the infidel. Talks of organizing crusades to recover Constantinople and to drive the Turks into Asia were initiated; such projects proved popular; but they never advanced beyond the planning stage. At the same time, it became obvious that the person to take charge of a planned crusade against the infidel could only be the pope. Thus the Vatican received new life and enjoyed new prestige, if only momentarily. The successor of Saint Peter vowed to take the cross again and, like Pope Urban II, he was charged with the defense of the faith. Viewed in this light, the immediate effect of the fall of Constantinople and of mainland Greece to the Ottoman Turks was the temporary postponement of the Protestant revolt in Europe, as the Vatican momentarily reasserted its spiritual authority and recovered large measures of its former prestige, while Western Christendom sought, once more, in the person of the pope a leader for secular salvation from the infidel threat.

### The Patriarchate and the Porte

The nature of the Byzantine state had been such that there had not always been a clear distinction between *imperium* and *sacerdotium*. Emperors and patriarchs had reigned together, more often amiably but sometimes in open conflict. Church and Empire on earth were supposed to reflect Church in heaven. The emperor was the visible head of the empire, of all Christians in the *oikoumene*, the inhabited world, and the defender of the faith



and of the Church as a God-protected ruler. The institution of the Church implied the existence of an emperor, who could not be divorced from it. In theory, the relationship of emperor and patriarch was, under ideal conditions, complimentary: the patriarch was concerned with the souls of the people while the emperor was entrusted with the care of their bodies. Such was the happy, compromising formulation that had been given expression a long time before the Palaiologan era by Patriarch Photios in the ninth century.

The Palaiologan era of the Byzantine Empire does not provide a smooth application of this formula. Emperors and patriarchs often argued and quarreled from the day that Constantinople was recovered from the Latins. Further division within the Church, evident in the schism of the Arsenites, in the Hesychast debate, and, finally, in the controversial attempt to unite with the Latin Church, ensued and could not be averted. The emperor was caught in the middle of every controversy, as he could not divorce himself or his foreign policy from ecclesiastical matters. With the Turks at the gates of Constantinople, the union was accepted temporarily by much of the Constantinopolitan leadership in 1439. Yet the climate in the imperial capital was so unfavorable to this course of action that the union in the East could not be celebrated before December 1452, and even then only under immense imperial pressure. Finally, the names of both patriarch and pope were commemorated in a service at the Church of Hagia Sophia; subsequently, this most beloved church was avoided by the Orthodox clergy and the inhabitants of Constantinople, on the grounds that it had been contaminated by the Latins. At that time, as already noted, there was no patriarch in the capital, since Gregory III Mamas had already departed for Rome in the face of the heavy opposition that he had encountered by the anti-unionists.

After the carnage of the sack in 1453 was over, Mehmed II Fatih found himself in charge of a city that had been deeply divided in the past in regard to ecclesiastical matters. With Constantinople-Istanbul as the capital of his empire, Mehmed II wished to be known as the legitimate heir of the Roman emperors, as the autokrator-sultan of both Ottomans and Byzantines; the latter were destined

to become an infidel minority within his Muslim empire in the sixteenth century. As an heir to Byzantium, the Ottoman Empire absorbed, it may be argued, a great deal of ceremony and court ritual from its predecessor. Thus, the offices of the Byzantine court and government were passed on to the Ottoman administration. The hierarchy of officials, as is revealed in Mehmed II's *Kanun-name*, presents numerous offices that are strongly reminiscent of the Byzantine court. The Ottoman *kapudan pasha* may have perpetuated the Byzantine grand duke. Similarly, the *reis* may be a reflection of the grand logothete, as the *nişancı* is probably an echo of the imperial secretary, while the various logothetes were also transformed into the offices of the *defterdar*. Moreover, the two major military appointments, the *beglerbeg* of the West (Rumeli) and the *beglerbeg* of the East (Anatolia) may have their ultimate origins in the Byzantine domestics of the Eastern and Western *scholai*. Above all, the important Byzantine office of grand domestikos finds its counterpart in the Ottoman grand vizier. Furthermore, the division of Ottoman territory into *sancaks* also recalls the Byzantine themes; instead of a logothete in charge, we now find a *sancak beg* governing the province. Thus, in administration, the Ottoman empire preserved, in its essential form, the framework of its predecessor, the Byzantine Empire.

But the Byzantine population, the infidel subjects of the sultan, now formed a *millet* within the Ottoman Empire and some form of organization for this religious minority had to be devised. As there could be no question of dividing political authority within the empire and no purely political head over the Christian minority could be tolerated, Mehmed II turned to the second arm of the Byzantine political theory and decided to continue the office of the Orthodox patriarch of Constantinople along the traditional Byzantine lines. It further suited the young sultan to encourage disagreement between the Orthodox and the Latin Churches in order to perpetuate the division of the Christendom. The Porte, aware of the ever-present threat of yet another crusading expedition to the East, had never approved of the Byzantine overtures to Rome in the Palaiologan period. Before the departure of John VIII Palaiologos (1425-1448) and his Eastern delegation to

Italy and the Council of Florence, the father of Mehmed II, Sultan Murad II, had expressed his strong opposition to the imperial journey and to the mission that was designed to promote religious unity between the Christians of the East and those of the West. The Ottoman *autokrator*-sultan of Constantinople continued this policy and encouraged the surviving anti-unionists in order to prevent further contact and possible reconciliation among the Christians.

With such considerations, the Conqueror organized his Christian subjects in a *millet*, a religious community or nation within the Ottoman Empire. Such "nations" within Muslim dominions are known from earlier periods; these communities had been traditionally allowed to direct their own affairs, provided that taxes were paid regularly and that sedition was not contemplated or, at least, not detected. The sultan's first objective was the appointment of a suitable patriarch, the individual who would become the head of this *millet* and would also be directly responsible to the Porte for the behavior of the subject nation. The selection, in this case, was not difficult. George Scholarios, still a layman, had been a member of the Byzantine delegation which had accompanied Emperor John VIII to Florence in 1438. Scholarios, however, left the Council before its conclusion and was not one of the signatories. A year later, the union of the churches was proclaimed in Italy, with the "consent" of the Orthodox delegation. Upon his return to Constantinople, however, Scholarios became one of the most prominent anti-union leaders in the capital. His views on this subject brought him into direct conflict with the government and earned him the enmity of some in the Constantinopolitan court. Shortly before 1450, however, Scholarios voluntarily resigned his position at court and took up residence in the Monastery of Pantokrator. After his parents' death (1450), he was tonsured a monk in the Monastery of Charsianeites, changing his name from George to Gennadios. From his monastic cell, Gennadios strove to achieve two objectives: 1) to block the implementation of the so humiliating for the Orthodox, union of Florence, and 2) to convince the Constantinopolitans that the salvation of the City lay in their own faith and resources rather than on doubtful assistance from the West. Because

of his well-known anti-unionist policy, Scholarios was ideally suited for Mehmed II's purposes and was consequently selected, with the approval of a synod of bishops, to become the first patriarch of the Roman (Orthodox) *millet* under Ottoman rule. In the sack Scholarios was captured and taken to Adrianople. Mehmed II brought him back to the capital and approved of his election to the patriarchal throne on January 6, 1454.

The ceremony of Scholarios' enthronement, as Gennadios II, is described in several texts, which, however, belong to a later period, including the well-known version that was formerly attributed to the pen of George Sphrantzes (1401-1477) in the *Chronicon Maius*; this "document," it has now been determined, was composed by a forger in the sixteenth century. Moreover, it is not known whether Mehmed II actually drew up a formal agreement delineating the duties and the privileges of the patriarch. If analogies from other conquered territories carry any weight, a broad statement, in the form of a *firman* or *berat*, may not be totally out of the question; such a document may have described, in a general outline, the duties of the Patriarchate to the Porte.

Unfortunately, no documents of an official nature concerning the Porte and the Patriarchate from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries have survived. Yet this transitional period is of the utmost importance for the proper understanding of the history of the Great Church of Christ (also known as the Greek Church) and of the Orthodox Christian *millet*, in general, under the Ottoman sultans. The oldest Ottoman *berat* that has survived, in this case, was issued to Patriarch Dionysios III in 1662, two centuries after the fall of Constantinople. From the documentary point of view, very little information can be gathered about the early history of the Great Church under the Conqueror and his immediate successors.

This lack of documentary evidence can be attributed to several factors, the most significant of which seem to consist of occasional fires at the Patriarchate, of individual acts of destruction, or of frequent displacements of the patriarchal church in this period. It is clear, nevertheless, that the need for written documents was acutely felt by patriarchs as early as the beginning of the sixteenth century, when officials at the Patriarchate could not produce written

evidence or legal documents to substantiate the patriarchal claim that Mehmed II Fatih had endowed the Great Church and its leader with a number of privileges. About the year 1520, Sultan Selim I Yavuz attempted to convert the churches of Constantinople that were still in Orthodox hands. Patriarch Theoleptos I argued that these churches had been assigned to the Christians by the Conqueror; the patriarch, however, could not prove his assertion, because, he stated, a fire at the Patriarchate had destroyed the original document. All that Theoleptos I could do was to produce three aged janissaries who swore that they had been present in Mehmed II's retinue on May 29, 1453, and that they had seen a number of Christians submit voluntarily to the sultan, who had then granted them some of the churches in Constantinople. This controversy found no permanent resolution, even though Selim I accepted the testimony and abandoned his plan to convert the churches. A few years later, c. 1527, in the reign of Suleyman the Magnificent, the same issue was raised again. This time, Patriarch Hieremias I referred to the proceedings in Sultan Selim I's reign. Suleyman decided to consult the highest legal authority in Muslim law. The Muslim judge noted the paradox, that churches had been left in Christian hands even though Constantinople had been taken by the sword, and concluded that, in the absence of any documentation, Constantinople must have submitted, despite the indications which strongly suggested that it had been conquered. The status of the churches was thus left vague and unsettled, as no documents from the era of the Conqueror could provide undisputed proof. Thus the patriarch managed to save his churches, whose number had been dwindling, nevertheless, due to occasional confiscations. The history of the so-called "privileges" continued and resurfaced again in the nineteenth century when the Porte was making plans to abolish both judiciary and educational privileges that were traditionally accorded to the Patriarchate. Patriarch Ioakeim III then resigned in protest in 1884 and the Porte confirmed, once more, the existing privileges. The latter were finally abolished in the present century with the reforms of Mustafa Kemal, the founder of the Turkish Republic, who restricted the Patriarchate to its religious functions within the Turkish Republic.

In spite of lack of documentary evidence from the early period, the organization and structure of the Great Church of Christ under the Ottoman sultans are known in detail. Continuation of the Byzantine tradition is indicated in all levels and it is no exaggeration to claim that Byzantium survived in the Great Church. As the Church in the West a millennium earlier had gradually taken over most of the responsibilities and trappings of the senatorial class of Rome in the reigns of Pope Gregory I and his successors, in a similar fashion the Church of the Constantinople assumed many of the duties that the Byzantine government had exercised before the fall. The Patriarchate continued to be important and to exercise great influence over the lives of the Christian subjects of the Ottoman sultan. In theory, the Orthodox clergy were freed from paying taxes to the government; in practice, however, the clergy as well as the Patriarchate were encumbered by an ever increasing tax burden. Moreover, "gifts" to the Porte were also encouraged and special taxes were also exacted from time to time. In addition, the patriarch was invested with authority to tax the Orthodox subjects within the Ottoman realm in order to raise funds for the needs of the Church. The Patriarchate continued its judicial role, which it performed according to Byzantine canon, civil, and customary law. The Christian subjects of the sultan were not compelled to appear in Ottoman courts unless criminal charges were involved or disputes between Christians and Muslims. The patriarchal courts increasingly made their presence felt among the Greek population.

Byzantine tradition further survived in the very structure of the Great Church and its various offices, which had their roots in the Byzantine past, not only in nomenclature but in the actual administration of duties as well. Thus, those individuals in charge of duties, known as *officialioi*, a term that reaches back to the Roman past, were endowed with significant responsibilities. The most important officials were the Grand Logothete, the Grand Skeuophylax, the Grand Oikonomos, the Grand Chartophylax, the Grand Sakellarios, the Protekdikos, and the Grand Rhetor. Among them only the Grand Rhetor was a "new" office, which appeared after the fall. Initially, most of them were members of the clergy,

but later these offices were filled exclusively by laymen. In this way a veritable army of lay officials came into being in the capacity of advisors to the patriarchs; in time, the latter were compelled to become master politicians in their relations to the Porte. Furthermore, men trained in law also achieved high prominence in the Great Church, as the Patriarchate had to deal increasingly with legal and financial matters. By the middle of the seventeenth century lay officials had taken over the most important offices of the Patriarchate hitherto reserved for clergymen.

In the early days after the fall, the Patriarchate fared relatively well under Mehmed II. But after the fall of Trebizond, the sultan brought into Constantinople a great number of Trebizondian nobles as *sürgün*, who imported to the Patriarchate their habits as courtiers. The Patriarchate was for them the only place to exercise the remnants of their former power. Among those nobles was the influential George Amoiroutzes, who had played a part in the surrender of Trebizond and had thus managed to befriend the young sultan. Amoiroutzes convinced Mehmed II to depose Patriarch Ioasaph I Kokkas (November 1462), as the latter had opposed Amoiroutzes' wish to marry the widow of the duke of Athens. For a brief period after the dismissal of Ioasaph I, Gennadios II was brought back from retirement to the patriarchal throne; he was succeeded by Sophronios I (1463-1464); before his elevation Sophronios I had been known as Sylvestros Syropoulos, the well-known historian of the Council of Florence. After his tenure, the election of Markos Xylokaravis followed and was accented by opposition. The nobles from Trebizond exploited the situation and managed to obtain the elevation of their own candidate, Metropolitan Symeon of Trebizond, by offering a "gift" of one thousand gold pieces to the sultan. Thus the "gift" to the Porte on the elevation of a new patriarch was initiated. Symeon's successor, Dionysos I (1466-1472, 1488-1490), increased the amount of the "gift" to two thousand gold pieces. When Raphael the Serb became patriarch, this amount was legitimized as an annual tax, a *harac*, which was independent of the "gift."

In spite of the financial obligations that were steadily increased, the Patriarchate found its prestige enhanced and its authority

became undisputed among the Greeks. In the last years of the Palaiologan period, the Patriarchate's authority had suffered, as patriarchs had fallen under the policies of the administration which had advocated religious unity with the West. The holocaust of 1453 placed the Great Church of Christ in a unique position, enabling it to reassert its former authority within the Orthodox *millet*. Even though the old cornerstone of Byzantine political theory, positing one Christian empire under one Christian emperor and patriarch, could not apply any longer, the patriarch under the aegis of the sultan found a new, mutually advantageous, situation with the Porte which permitted the autonomous existence of the Orthodox Church, free from any forced union with the West.

In practice, of course, the situation was not so simple or so promising, as patriarchs, in time, found themselves pawns in the hands of greedy Porte officials, who increasingly demanded higher bribes and more expensive "gifts." Thus the officials of the Great Church of Christ were compelled to resort to intrigue and corruption, methods that were acceptable in Porte politics. In addition, the head of the Patriarchate and of the *millet* was frequently the target of outbursts of fanaticism or became the victim of Porte politics, suffering the punishment that was usually meted out for acts of treason, real or imaginary. Thus Kyrillos I Loukaris (d. 1638), Kyrillos II (d. 1639), and Parthenios II (d. 1651) became entangled in the rivalry between Protestants and Catholics, carried out in Constantinople and elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire, and were executed by order of the Porte. Parthenios III (d. 1657) was the victim of slander. Gregorios V (d. 1821) was put to death on account of the Greek revolution, in the beginning of the war of independence. It should be noted, however, that the Ottoman authorities first deposed and then executed patriarchs, who were thus accorded the treatment dealt to disloyal subjects in general. It is also significant that no patriarch before Kyrillos I was put to death. Thus, it is only in the later declining years of the Ottoman Empire that harsh measures were initiated.

In the early period, after the fall of Byzantine Constantinople, it was in the interests of the Porte and of the Patriarchate to work together in order to ensure harmony within the realm. Throughout

the period of Ottoman domination, the Patriarchate performed an invaluable service for the Greek *rayas*, as it preserved Byzantine tradition, both in religious and in secular matters. It thus assisted in the preservation of a Byzantine-Greek identity throughout the so-called "dark age" of modern Greece. In the Patriarchate Byzantine vestiges were still visible and the memory of a past "golden age" was kept alive.

#### Patriarchal Chronicles of the Sixteenth Century

With the Byzantine tradition in the background, the Patriarchate in Constantinople did not neglect historiography, and chronicles eventually appeared. Although, in this century, no historians of the caliber of Doukas, Kritoboulos, or Chalkokondyles appeared, we have good evidence to suggest that there existed an active school of chroniclers, who were associated with the Great Church in the first century after the fall of Constantinople; they seem to have compiled short histories of patriarchs and of the Patriarchate. In the absence of other documentary evidence, these works assume primary significance for the history of the Great Church in this early era, as they are our only guide for the events. At this time the West showed no interest in the affairs of the Church of Constantinople, which had repudiated the union proclaimed at Florence in 1439 and had thus lapsed back into "schism." It is only after the middle of the sixteenth century that Western Europe displays a minimum of interest in the ecclesiastical affairs and in the history of the Patriarchate of Constantinople; and even then, individuals like Martinus Crusius (Martin Kraus), whose interests in the affairs of contemporary Greece were keen and resulted in the publication of the monumental *Turco-Graecia* (1584), were the exception and not the rule.

In the fifteenth century we know of no writers at the Patriarchate who compiled histories. But in the following century there is a great deal of activity, centered around the Patriarchate; a number of histories and chronicles thus begin to appear. By this time, the need for the existence of documents to support patriarchal claims had already been felt, and histories of the Church in the years after the conquest must have been thought desirable,

as the events in the reigns of Selim I and Suleyman the Magnificent in regard to the conversion of the Christian churches at Constantinople had clearly indicated. The history of the Patriarchate had to be compiled.

Thus, a number of works dealing with the events of this period were composed. The earliest and, most probably, the source for the rest seems to have been a work by Damaskenos the Studite. Damaskenos was from Thessalonike and, in his career, served as the metropolitan of Naupaktos and Arta in mainland Greece. He flourished in the middle of the sixteenth century. He was a prolific writer; among his works, his homilies are still treasured by the Orthodox Church. Yet his most important work seems to have been completed c. 1572, a *History of the Patriarchs of Constantinople* from the age of Constantine the Great to his own days. The last section of this work is the most important for our purposes, as Damaskenos discussed the history of the Patriarchate after the conquest of Constantinople by Mehmed II. Ultimately, all other chronicles, which have survived and which deal with the events of this period, derive their information, directly or indirectly, from Damaskenos. A significant extract from Damaskenos' *History* was copied and published in 1872; it clearly demonstrates the dependence of other chronicles on Damaskenos' work. Unfortunately, the complete history has not been published thus far; the manuscript is still housed in the Patriarchal library; its eventual publication will undoubtedly contribute a great deal to our knowledge of the events in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.

Manuel Malaxos completed his *Πατριαρχική ιστορία Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* (*History of the Patriarchate of Constantinople*) sometime after the middle of the sixteenth century. We have very few facts about his life. Malaxos was associated with the Patriarchate and he seems to have been taught by Matthaïos Kamariotes, a scholar who had been born while Constantinople was still under the Palaiologi. It is this work, in fact, that supplies most of the evidence for the history of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in the early period. Malaxos' importance becomes evident once it is recalled that his work was read and published by Martinus Crusius, who

had been a professor of Greek at Tübingen since the middle of the sixteenth century. Crusius was one of the very few Western scholars interested in late medieval and contemporary Greece in this period when Europe, under the spirit of the Renaissance and the spell of humanism, had devoted its scholarly attention to the ancient Greek past. Through the offices of Stephen Gerlach, a Lutheran chaplain in residence at Constantinople, Crusius began a regular correspondence with officials and *litterati* at the Patriarchate. The professor of Greek was further involved in an ill-fated attempt to reach a compromise between the Lutherans and the Orthodox Church. Crusius' lasting achievement, however, was the direct result of his correspondence, the two monumental books, the *Germanograecia* and the famous *Turco-Graecia*, our two main sources for the history of Constantinople and of the Greeks under the Ottoman sultans. Stephen Gerlach also kept a diary of his stay in Constantinople but this work, his *Tagebuch*, was published in 1674, long after his death and after the appearance of Crusius' books. The *Turco-Graecia* was published in 1584, the result of Crusius' correspondence with the officials of the Great Church. Especially fruitful was Crusius' association with Theodosios Zygomalas, a *protonotarios* of the Patriarchate and, for the age, a learned individual, who had a taste for ancient literature and was always looking for manuscripts of ancient authors. Zygomalas supplied a great deal of the material that found its way in the *Turco-Graecia*. In fact, it was Zygomalas who brought to the attention of Crusius the *History of the Patriarchate of Constantinople* of Manuel Malaxos; this work was copied and corrected by Zygomalas himself before it was sent to Crusius in Tübingen in 1581. Along with the *History of the Patriarchate of Constantinople*, Zygomalas also sent the so-called *Ἱστορία πολιτικὴ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* (*Political History of Constantinople*), which is also attributed to the pen of Manuel Malaxos. These two works comprise the knowledge that the officials at the Great Church commanded in regard to the history of the Great Church in the fifteenth century.

Both of these histories are of immense value to scholars, as they supply a treasury of information for the patriarchs immediately after the fall of Constantinople. In the absence of other documentary

evidence, these two works are, by necessity, our main source. Thus it was through Crusius that the Western world learned of the details of Gennadios II's elevation and of his successors. The importance of these works can also be measured by the fact that certain passages dealing with the enthronement of Gennadios II have been copied, imitated, adapted, and incorporated in the celebrated *Chronicon Maius* which used to be attributed to the pen of George Sphrantzes (1401-1477), the childhood friend and minister of the last Greek emperor of Constantinople, Constantine XII Palaiologos-Dragezes (1448-1453). As long as the authenticity of the *Maius* was not questioned, the information supplied in the text was considered to be true. Contemporary research, however, has conclusively demonstrated that the *Maius* is not an eyewitness account but a late composition authored by the well-known forger Makarios Melissenos-Melissourgos, who was active in Naples c. 1580. Sphrantzes' authentic work, the *Chronicon Minus*, is not concerned with the Patriarchate of Constantinople after the fall and Gennadios II does not receive mention in the authentic text, as George Sphrantzes was not in Constantinople in the early days of the Patriarchate but had escaped to the Peloponnese. Moreover, Gennadios II was a confirmed anti-unionist and an opponent of Sphrantzes' friend and hero, Constantine XII. Melissenos-Melissourgos derived his information on the enthronement of Gennadios II and on the events of the early period under Mehmed II from the work of Malaxos or from the history of Malaxos' earlier contemporary Damaskenos, either of which Melissenos-Melissourgos could have read during his year long stay at the Patriarchate, when he was gathering information for his expansion of Sphrantzes' *Minus* into the *Maius*. That both Crusius and the Greek forger of the *Maius* utilized Malaxos suggests the lack of documents and works about the early Church of Constantinople in the sixteenth century.

Nowadays we have every reason to believe that the *History of the Patriarchate of Constantinople*, attributed to Manuel Malaxos, is not an original document but that it derives largely from the composition of Damaskenos. Even in the sixteenth century persistent rumors suggested that Malaxos was not the author of the *History of the Patriarchate of Constantinople*; Gerlach, who was in

Constantinople at this time and was familiar with the Patriarchate and its officials, seems to have believed that Malaxos was only the copyist and not the actual author of this work. That Damaskenos' work was the inspiration of Manuel Malaxos cannot be doubted; Malaxos himself simply states that he only translated "this work into the spoken idiom" and he further added details of ecclesiastical interest, such as the case of Arsenites of Monembasia, and the information on the deliverance of the churches in the patriarchate of Hieremias I. Moreover, Malaxos continued the account of Damaskenos.

The present Chronicle is part of this tradition. Its text in many cases is identical to the text of Malaxos and Damaskenos. It begins with the year 1391, although reference is made to events that go back to 1373. The original conclusion of this work is difficult to discern. Some manuscripts conclude with the year 1517 but others carry the narrative to 1543. The complete list of sources utilized by the unknown author remains a mystery, although it has been suggested that, at least in the early portions of his account, he may be indebted to the works of Doukas and Sphrantzes. As this work seems to be one of the earliest that we possess on the affairs of post-Byzantine Constantinople, it becomes one of our vital sources of information for the relations between the Patriarchate and the Porte, at least in regard to the officials of the Great Church.

This type of composition, a popular chronicle, presents us with authentic details, some of which may go back to actual eyewitness reminiscences of the events that are related, especially in regard to the fall of Constantinople and the sack. It is also obvious from the manuscript tradition that the text has undergone a number of revisions; undoubtedly it was elaborated in subsequent years. Thus it becomes extremely hard to recover the original nucleus of this account. Yet, in the absence of further evidence, it may be claimed that the earliest manuscripts probably contain more of the original composition than the later ones.

The following manuscripts contain versions of the text: the *Vaticanus 1159* of the sixteenth century, the *Oxonienis-Lincolnenis 10* also of the sixteenth century, the *Dionysiacus 263* (= *Codex 3779* at Athos) of the seventeenth century, and another manuscript

from Athos now housed in the library of Constantine Amantos at Athens, dating from the middle of the sixteenth century.

The text published here follows the *Codex Oxoniensis-Lincolnenis*, which was first edited and published by Constantine Sathas in *Μεσαιωνική Βιβλιοθήκη (Bibliotheca graeca medii aevi)*, vol. 7 (Paris 1894). This *codex* contains other texts as well, all written in the sixteenth century by various hands; they were compiled into the present *codex* sometime after 1606. Another version of this text, incorporated into the works attributed to Manuel Malaxos, can be found in M. Crusius, *Turco-Graecia Libri VIII* (Basileae 1584) 1-43; Crusius' text, in turn, is reprinted in I. Bekker, *CSHB* (Bonn 1849). A critical edition of this work, taking into account the various manuscripts was also published by S. Lampros, *Ecthesis Chronica and Chronicon Athenarum* (London 1902), with critical notes and indices. The present translation follows the Oxford text, as it seems to present more of the nucleus of the original work and because it is also one of the earliest manuscripts.

The author's identity remains unknown. He was well-versed in the literature of the Patriarchate in the sixteenth century and undoubtedly served in some capacity in the administration of the Great Church. Either he knew Manuel Malaxos' work or he served as one of the prototypes that Manuel Malaxos followed in the composition of his *History of the Patriarchate of Constantinople* and his *Political History of Constantinople*; in all likelihood, however, both Malaxos and our author drew from other sources such as Damaskenos. The information presented here and in Malaxos is typical of the work that was carried out in the Patriarchate of Constantinople in the sixteenth century, both in style and subject matter.

Our author's interest in late Byzantine history suffers from his lack of accurate sources and of authoritative historical works. Frequently he reproduces what appear to be no more than verbal accounts and tales that must have been in circulation in his own time in Constantinople. He has preserved, however, interesting details of the siege and fall of the Byzantine capital (1453) which are not found in other Greek texts. As no Greek writer who happened to be in Constantinople in 1453 composed an eyewitness account of

the events in the manner of Nicolò Barbaro's *Giornale dell' assedio*, most Greek accounts are based on material that was narrated by authors who were not present (e.g. Pseudo-Sphrantzes, who drew on the Latin letter of Archbishop Leonard). The information on the siege and fall presented here undoubtedly derives from the tales that were in circulation among the Greeks of Constantinople in the sixteenth century, ultimately originating from oral accounts by the survivors of the sack.

The author further displays a strong interest in the Ottoman Empire, especially after the fall of the Byzantine capital, and treats the reigns of Mehmed II, Bayezid II, and Selim I in lengthy detail. It is in the context of the Ottoman state that our author presents us with valuable information of the early history of the Great Church of Constantinople under the Ottoman sultans. Like many of his Byzantine predecessors in historiography, this author displays firm belief in portents (e.g., the long tale on the fate of the excommunicated woman and the effects on her remains, brought about by the patriarchal pardon) and in prophecies (e.g., the otherwise unattested prophetic utterance in regard to the fall of Constantinople by the last Byzantine patriarch, the disillusioned Gregory III Mamas prior to his departure for Rome and the Latin West). The scope of this work, however, is broad, going beyond the last years of the Byzantine state, the early Patriarchate after the fall, or the Ottoman Empire, throughout the narrative, there are various digressions dealing with Italy (mainly Venice), Hungary, and Persia (in-so-far as it affected the Ottoman Empire).

The style of the work is simple. The author had received basic education, in the post-Byzantine manner, by which he had become familiar with the "cultured" style, which, in this period tended to imitate the ancient Greek language; moreover, the Patriarchate, as the heir to Byzantium and its traditions, continued to promote a "scholarly" language in composition, as opposed to the spoken language of everyday life. While this author shows familiarity with the principles of grammar and composition current in the Byzantine period, he also demonstrates that the ties to Byzantium and to the old imperial style in composition had begun to weaken somewhat. But in his attempt to imitate the traditional style, one

encounters a large number of non-Greek words; these must have been passing into the vocabulary of the Greek speakers in Constantinople at this time. He is thoroughly familiar with Turkish terminology and probably with the Turkish language also. His attempt to compose in a mildly archaic style further shows that his command of ancient Greek was not formidable, as he commits several errors in syntax and in grammar, especially in the gender of the participles. Thus, this work presents an intermediary style between the cultured, late Byzantine language and the demotic form that will eventually dominate Greek literature.

Because of his language and his intimate knowledge of the early Patriarchate, there can be no doubt that this author was probably associated with Great Church, perhaps in a minor capacity, such as *notarios*. The manuscript, whose text C. Sathas published in the last century, contains no divisions. I have divided Sathas' text into paragraphs for easy reference.





Ἔκθεσις χρονικὴ συντομωτέρα συντεθεισα ἐν ἀπλό-  
τητι λέξεων, κοινῶς διηγουμένη τὰ γεγονότα ἐν ταῖς  
ἡμέραις ἡμῶν, ἃ μὲν οἰκεῖοις ὀφθαλμοῖς εἶδομεν, ἃ δὲ  
ἤκηχόαμεν ἐκ τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν οὐκ ὀκνοῦμεν γράψαι.

1. Βασιλεύων κύρ Μανουὴλ ὁ Παλαιολόγος ἔσχεν καὶ ἀδελφὸν  
τὸν κύριν Ἀνδρόνικον, ὃν περ ἐτύφλωσεν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ διὰ  
τὸ νεωτερῆσαι αὐτὸν μετὰ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ αὐθεντοῦς ὀνόματι Μουσί-  
τζελεπῆ· ἀποδράσαντες γὰρ ἀμφοτέροι ἐκ τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν  
5 ἐλεηλάτουν τὰς χώρας. Ὄθεν ποιήσαντες βουλὴν οἱ πατέρες  
αὐτῶν ἐπίασαν αὐτούς· καὶ ὁ μὲν Τοῦρκος ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ἑαυτοῦ  
υἱόν, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς τυφλώσας τὸν Ἀνδρόνικον ἔβαλεν αὐτὸν  
ἐν τοῖς πύργοις τοῖς λεγομένοις Ἀνεμάδες πλησίον Βλαχέρνας.

2. Ἔσχε δὲ ὁ αὐτὸς Ἀνδρόνικος υἱὸν ὀνόματι Ἰωάννην, ὃν  
καὶ καταλείψας ἐν τῇ Πόλει φυλάττειν αὐτὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ  
θεῖος αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸς ἐπορεύθη ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ ὅπως δώσωσιν αὐτῷ  
δύναμιν κατὰ τῶν ἀσεβῶν καὶ ἴδωσι καὶ περὶ ἐνώσεως τῶν  
5 ἐκκλησιῶν. Ἦν δὲ ὁ ἀνεψιὸς αὐτοῦ ἐν πᾶσιν ἐπιτηδειότατος  
καὶ εὐλαβής, ὃν καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἐπανελθεῖν τὸν βασιλέα ἐξ Ἰταλίας  
δέδωκεν αὐτῷ τὴν Θεσσαλονίκην· ἦν γὰρ ἄκρος τὴν ἀρετὴν,  
ὡς καὶ ὁ τάφος αὐτοῦ νῦν ἰᾶται ἀσθενείας παντοίας.



A brief chronicle composed in simple words nar-  
rating in the spoken idiom the events that took place  
in our days, some of which we witnessed with our  
own eyes while the others, which we heard from  
those before us, we did not neglect to write.

1. While Lord Manuel Palaiologos was emperor, he had a  
brother, Lord Andronikos, whom his father had blinded because  
he had revolted in the company of the sovereign's son called  
Musa Çelebi. Both had fled from their fathers and had been  
raiding the countryside. For this reason, their fathers confer-  
red and captured them. The Turk put his own son to death,  
while the emperor blinded and imprisoned Andronikos in the  
towers near Blachernai, called Anemades.<sup>1</sup>

2. This Andronikos had a son called John, whom the emperor,  
his uncle, left in the City to guard it; the emperor himself went  
to Italy in order to seek aid against the impious and to consult  
about the union of the churches.<sup>2</sup> His nephew handled  
everything with skill and devotion. After his return from Italy,  
the emperor assigned Thessalonike to him. He was extremely  
virtuous and his grave cures all sorts of illnesses nowadays.

3. Πορευθείς οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ, ὑπέσχοντο δοῦναι αὐτῷ βοήθειαν, γράψας ὁ πάπας εἰς πάντας βηγάδες καὶ ἄρχοντες ὅπως συνάξωνται χρήματα καὶ δώσουσι πρὸς αὐτόν. ὄντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκέισε, γέγονε πάνδημος ἑορτή· ἔθος γὰρ ἦν τοῖς Λατίνοις ἀσπάζεσθαι τὸ ὑπομάνικον τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἔχον τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰκόνα καὶ δίδειν δῶρα εὐλογῶν αὐτούς. Προσκληθείς οὖν καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ ἀσπασμῷ, ἐβουλεύσαντο αὐτῷ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ λέγοντες ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν εὐλογον ἀσπάσασθαι τὴν τοῦ λατινοεπισκόπου χεῖρα. Ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ὅτι οὐ κατεδέξατο ἀσπάσασθαι τὸ ὑπομάνικον αὐτοῦ ἔχον τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ εἰκόνα, διεμηνύσατο τὸν πάπαν περὶ τούτου. Ἀντέγραφεν οὖν ὁ πάπας οὕτως· βασιλεῖ τῶν Ῥωμαίων τῷ μὴ θελήσαντι προσκυνῆσαι τὴν εἰκόνα Χριστοῦ εἴ τις ἐκ τοῦ ἡμετέρου γένους ἐλεήσει αὐτόν, ἔστω ἀσυγχώρητος. Ταῦτα ἐποίησε ἡ κακὴ συμβουλίᾳ. Αἰσχυνθείς οὖν ὑπέστρεφεν ἐλθὼν ἐν τῇ Βενετίᾳ κενός, μηδὲν διαπραξάμενος.

4. Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ ὁ σουλτάν Μεχεμέτης, υἱὸς τοῦ σουλτάν Μπαϊαζήτη τοῦ Ἰλιρμί, καὶ ἔλαβε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ σουλτάν Μουράτης ἔχων καὶ ἕτερον ἀδελφὸν ὀνόματι Μουσταφᾶν, ὃς καὶ φυγῶν εἰσῆλθεν ἐντὸς τῆς Πόλεως, ὄνπερ ὑπεδέξαντο οἱ πολῖται ὡσπερ τι μέγα θήραμα· δέδωκαν δὲ πρὸς αὐτόν εἰς γυναῖκα τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ Τόρια εὐγενοῦς Γενουβίτου· ὁ γὰρ βασιλεὺς κύρις Μανουήλ ἔχων θυγατέρα ἐκ πορνείας ὀνόματι Ζαμπία Παλαιολογίνα δέδωκεν αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν Τόριαν· τὴν θυγατέρα δὲ αὐτῆς πάλιν δέδωκεν τῷ σουλτάν Μουσταφᾶ εἰς γυναῖκα ὀνομάσαντες αὐτὴν Κυράν τῆς Ἀνατολῆς κενῷ ὀνόματι. Περαιώσαντες γὰρ αὐτόν οἱ πολῖται μετὰ στρατιωτῶν καὶ δορυφορίας ἐν τῇ Ἀνατολῇ, ὑπέκυψαν αὐτῷ ἅπαντες· ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ κάστρη καὶ χώρας σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν πάσης Ἀνατολῆς καθεζόμενος ἐν τῇ Προύσᾳ.

3. While the emperor was in Italy, they promised to give him aid. The pope wrote to all kings and lords and instructed them to contribute money for this purpose. During the emperor's visit, there took place a festival that was attended by many people; in its course the Latin custom demanded that the bishop's right maniple bearing the image of Christ be kissed, while the bishop blessed the gathering and distributed gifts. Accordingly, the emperor was invited to do so. His attendants deliberated and concluded that it would not be advisable for the emperor to kiss the hand of the Latin bishop. The latter saw that he did not deign to kiss his maniple with the image of Christ on it and he sent a message to the pope about the incident. The pope replied with the following letter: "Whoever of our race shows pity on the emperor of the Romans who failed to pay homage to the image of Christ, let him be damned." Such things were accomplished by bad advice. In shame and empty-handed, he returned to Venice having accomplished nothing.<sup>3</sup>

4. At that time Sultan Mehmed, the son of Sultan Bayezid Yildirim, died and his son, Sultan Murad, took over the realm. He had a brother called Mustafa, who fled and came to the City. The Constantinopolitans received him as if he were a great prize and they gave him the daughter of Doria, a nobleman from Genoa, to be his wife. The emperor, Lord Manuel, had an illegitimate daughter called Zampia Palaiologina, whom he had given to Doria; it was her daughter whom they gave to Sultan Mustafa to be his wife and they called her "Lady of Anatolia," an empty title. The Constantinopolitans sent him across the straits to Anatolia with soldiers and a bodyguard; all submitted to him. From his base at Prousa he seized the countryside and the cities of almost all of Anatolia.<sup>4</sup>

5. Ὁ δὲ σουλτάν Μουράτης περαιωθείς ἐκ τῆς Καλλιουπόλεως κρυφίως μετὰ φουσαῶν μερικῶν ἦλθεν ἐν τῇ Προύσῃ. Ὁ Μουσταφᾶς γὰρ ἦν σπαταλῶν ἐν μέθαις καὶ βαλανείοις, καὶ μὴ νοήσας τὸ δράμα εὐρέθη ἐν βαλανεῖῳ λουόμενος· εἰσπηδήσαντες οὖν αφινιδίως ἀπέπνιξαν αὐτόν· καὶ διελύθη ἡ πανήγυρις καὶ ἐκυρίευσεν πᾶσαν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Δύσεως καὶ Ἀνατολῆς.

6. Ὅργισθεὶς οὖν τοὺς πολίτας ἐποίησεν αὐτοῖς πᾶν δεινόν, καθ' ἑκάστην ἀρπάζων καὶ λεηλατῶν τὰ περὶ τῆς Πόλεως· καὶ παρακαθήμενος τῇ Πόλει ἐγγὺς τριετίας οὐκ ἔσχυσε λαβεῖν αὐτήν· ἐπιέζετο οὖν ἡ Πόλις ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ, ὅμως ὀφέποτε 5 παραρτήσατο αὐτὴν ἀπῆλθεν· ἐποίησεν οὖν εἰρήνην καὶ ὄρκους τοῦ μὴ ἄλλοτε παρευρεθῆναι κατὰ τῆς Πόλεως.

7. Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ ὁ κύρ Μανουῆλ ὁ Παλαιολόγος καταλείψας τὴν βασιλείαν πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ κύρ Ἰωάννην τὸν Παλαιολόγον. Στεφθεὶς γοῦν οὗτος μετὰ γυναικός, ἥνπερ ἔφερον αὐτῷ ἐκ Λουμπαρδίας μετὰ πλοῦτου πολλοῦ, καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὴν οὐκ 5 ἠγάπησεν τὸ σύνολον· ὀλίγου οὖν καιροῦ προσδραμόντος λαβοῦσα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῆς ἐπορεύθη πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτῆς· φασὶ γὰρ ὡς ὁ πατήρ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἠθέλησε κἂν ἰδεῖν αὐτὴν ὅπως ἔφυγεν τοῦ βασιλείως. Ἦν γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς πόρνος λίαν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ ἠγάπα αὐτήν.

8. Βασιλεύων γὰρ ὁ σουλτάν Μουράτης ἐν τῇ Ἀδριανουπόλει φιλικῶς διέκειτο μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως· ὅθεν καὶ βουλευθεὶς στρατεῦσαι κατὰ Θεσσαλονίκης τοῦ πολιορκῆσαι αὐτὴν διεμνήσατο αὐτῷ ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὡς οὐκ ἔστι δίκαιον, μενούσης τῆς φιλίας 5 ἡμῶν, στρατεῦσθαι κατὰ Θεσσαλονίκης. Καὶ ἀπηλογήσατο ὅτι εἰ μὲν σὴ ἦν οὐκ ἂν πορευόμεν κατ' αὐτῆς· ἀλλ' ἔστι τῶν Βενετικῶν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πορεύομαι, κἂν θεοῦ θέλοντος λαβεῖν αὐτήν. Πρὸ καιροῦ γὰρ ὑπήρχε τῶν Φραγκῶν, πωλήσας αὐτὴν ὁ Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ υἱὸς Μανουῆλ τοῦ Παλαιολόγου.

5. Sultan Murad crossed the straits from Kallipolis in secret with a part of his army and came to Prousa. Mustafa was wasting time in drinking and bathing; not knowing what had passed, he was found in a bath washing himself; suddenly they rushed upon him and strangled him. The gathering was then dismissed and he took control of the entire realm, both West and East.<sup>5</sup>

6. Being angry at the Constantinopolitans, he [Murad] tortured them in every way by conducting raids daily and by pillaging the environs of the City. He remained in the neighborhood of the City for almost three years but he was not strong enough to seize it. The City was pressed by famine; at last he gave up and departed. He made peace and swore that he would not again march against the City.

7. Lord Manuel Palaiologos died and he left the empire to his son, Lord John Palaiologos.<sup>6</sup> This man was crowned with his wife, whom they had brought for him from Lombardy with many riches. He accepted her but did not love her at all. After a short time had passed, she took her belongings and went to her father. They say that her father did not even express the wish to see her because she had left the emperor. The emperor was extremely addicted to the pleasures of the flesh and, for this reason, he had no affection for her.<sup>7</sup>

8. Sultan Murad reigned in Adrianople and maintained friendly relations with the emperor. As he wished to march and besiege Thessalonike, the emperor sent him a message: "While we have a standing friendship, it is not just that you march against Thessalonike." He responded: "If the city were yours, I would not attack it; but it belongs to the Venetians; for this reason I will march and, God willing, I will seize it." For some time this city belonged to the Franks, since Andronikos, the son of Manuel Palaiologos, had sold it.

9. Ἔσχε γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς υἱοὺς ἕξ· Ἰωάννην, Θεόδωρον, Κωνσταντῖνον, Ἀνδρόνικον, Δημήτριον, καὶ Θωμά· ἔδωκε δὲ αὐτοῖς ἅπαντας τόπους εἰς διατροφήν. Δέδωκε δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀνδρόνικον τὴν Θεσσαλονικὴν· οὗτος οὖν ὁ Ἀνδρόνικος περι-  
 5 ἔπεσεν ἐν τῷ πάθει τῆς ἐλεφαντιώσεως· ἐβουλεύσατο γὰρ μετὰ τῶν συνηλικιωτῶν αὐτοῦ ὅπως πωλήσῃ αὐτὴν, εἰπόντων αὐτῷ ὡς ὁ πατήρ σου ταύτην τὴν πόλιν δέδωκέ σοι κληρονομίαν ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις σοῖς ἀδελφοῖς· πώλησον οὖν αὐτὴν καὶ λαβὼν τὰ φλωρία πορευθήτι ἐν μοναστηρίῳ. Ἐποίησεν οὖν  
 10 οὕτως καὶ ἐπώλησεν αὐτὴν τοῖς Βενετίκοις διὰ φλωρία χιλιάδας πενήκοντα ταύτην τὴν περίφημον καὶ λαμπρὰν πόλιν· καὶ λαβὼν τὰ φλωρία τὰ μὲν ἔφθειρε κακῶς, τὰ δὲ ἔχαριστα τοῖς δαιτυμόσιν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὰ καταλειφθέντα ἄρας ἀπῆλθεν ἐν τῷ Ἁγίῳ Ὄρει εἰς ἓν τῶν ἐκεῖσε μοναστηρίων, καὶ  
 15 ἐτελεύτησε.

10. Πορευθεὶς οὖν ὁ σουλτάν Μουράτης κατὰ Θεσσαλονικίης ἐκυρίευσεν αὐτὴν καὶ ἐλεηλάτησε καὶ ἀπέκτεινε πλῆθος χριστιανῶν, οἳ οὐκ ἠθέλησαν προσκυνῆσαι αὐτῷ. Οἱ γὰρ Φράγκοι ὀλίγοι ὄντες ἔφυγον· μόνοι δὲ οἱ ἐντόπιοι ἔπαθον ἃ  
 5 οὐκ ἔστι δυνατὸν διηγήσασθαι· τοὺς φόνους, τὴν αἰχμαλωσίαν, τὴν ἐκ τόπου εἰς τόπον ἄφιξιν ἐν τε τῇ Ἀνατολῇ καὶ Δύσει. Ὁμοίως καὶ τὰς πέριξ χώρας καὶ κάστρον λεηλατήσας ὑπέστρεψεν ἐν ἔτει ς λγ. Ἐκυρίευσεν δὲ κάστρον καὶ χώρας τῆς Δύσεως ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ ἕκ τε Σερβίας καὶ Βουλγαρίας καὶ  
 10 ἐπαρχιῶν ἀναριθμητῶν, Θεοῦ παραχωροῦντος ἐκ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν ἡμῶν καὶ οὐδενὸς καλύοντος.

9. This emperor had six sons: John, Theodoros, Constantine, Andronikos, Demetrios, and Thomas.<sup>8</sup> He had distributed among them regions for their sustenance. He had given Thessalonike to Andronikos. This Andronikos fell ill with elephantiasis. He decided, together with the people of his own age, to sell the city, when they told him: "Your father gave you this city as your inheritance, as he has done with your other brothers; sell it, take the florins, and go to a monastery." So he did and sold this famous and renowned city to the Venetians for fifty thousand florins. After he received the florins, some he wasted in a sorry manner and others he gave to his intimate friends; he then took what was left and went to one of the monasteries on the Holy Mountain, where he died.<sup>9</sup>

10. So Sultan Murad marched against Thessalonike, conquered it, pillaged, and put to the sword a multitude of Christians, who had refused to pay homage to him.<sup>10</sup> As they were few, the Franks left, and only the indigenous population suffered indescribable woes, murders, slavery, deportation, and arrival in Anatolia and in the West. Similarly, he raided the neighboring countryside and cities and returned in the year 6933 [AD 1430]. He seized cities and regions of the West during his life; he subdued countless provinces in Serbia and Bulgaria, since God had allowed it, on account of our sins, and because no one had prevented him.<sup>11</sup>

11. Ὁ βασιλεὺς μὴ ἔχων τι καὶ δράσειεν, ὁρῶν τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς πληθυνομένους καθ' ἑκάστην καὶ λαμβάνοντας τὰς πόλεις καὶ χώρας, πιθανῶς τὰς μὲν τάχα μετὰ εὐλόγου προφάσεως, τὰς δὲ καὶ ἐξ ἀρπαγῆς, σχηματιζόμενος ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι μετὰ τοῦ  
 5 θελήματος αὐτοῦ, ἐβουλεύσατο ὅπως πορεύσῃται ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ γένηται ἔνωσις μετὰ τῶν Λατίνων καὶ δώσουσι μερικὴν βοήθειαν εἰς βοήθειαν τῶν χριστιανῶν. Γράψας οὖν πρὸς τὸν πάπαν, ὑπεδέξατο τὸν λόγον μετὰ χαρᾶς ὅτι πλείστης στείλαντες καὶ τὰς ἐξόδους καὶ καράβια οἱ τε γαρδινάλιοι καὶ αὐτὸς  
 10 ὁ πάπας· ἔσχον γὰρ ἐπιθυμίαν ὅπως γένηται ἔνωσις τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν διὰ τὸ πολλάκις τοῦτο βουλευθέντες οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν πολλῶν σκανδάλων γενομένων ἐξ ἑκατέρων μερῶν. Ὁ δὲ πάπας Εὐγένιος ἦν ἰθύνων τὸν θρόνον τῆς Ῥώμης καὶ γνοὺς τὴν ἀδυναμίαν τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν Ῥωμαίων ἤλπισεν εὐκόλως  
 15 ποιῆσαι τὴν ἔνωσιν καὶ στέρξωσι τὰς δόξας τῶν Λατίνων.

12. Διεμνήσατο οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι πᾶσιν Ἀνατολῆς τε καὶ Δύσεως, ὁμοίως καὶ τοὺς μετέχοντας ἐν λόγοις, καὶ ἦλθον ἅπαντες ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει· ὃ τε Τραπεζοῦντος ἔχων καὶ τὸν φιλόσοφον Ἀμηροῦτζην, ὁ Νικαίας Βησσαρίων,  
 5 ὁ Ῥωσσίας, ὁ φιλόσοφος Γεμιστός, καὶ ἄλλοι ἐκ τῶν ἀρχιερέων οὐκ ὀλίγοι. Ἦν γὰρ πατριάρχης ὁ κύρ Ἰωσήφ ὃς ἐτελεύτησεν ἐν Φλωρεντίᾳ.

13. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς καιροῖς ἐκεῖνοις ἔφερον ἐκ τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος τῷ βασιλεῖ εἰς γυναῖκα Μαρίαν τὴν Καντακουζηνήν, ἐγγονὴν οὖσαν τοῦ πρωτοστράτορος· τὴν γὰρ θυγατέρα τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρωτοστράτορος δέδωκαν εἰς γυναῖκα πρὸς τὸν πρωτοβεστιτῆριον  
 5 τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος. Ἡ γὰρ Μαρία ὡραία τῷ κάλλει οἷα οὐκ εὕρισκετο ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς ἐκεῖνοις· λαβὼν γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἠγάπα ἐξαισίως ἐκ τοῦ κάλλους καὶ τῆς γνώσεως αὐτῆς.

11. Since the emperor could not act, even though he saw that the impious were multiplying daily and were seizing cities and regions (some in all likelihood, with rather good pretext but others through rapacity), he decided, albeit unwillingly, to travel to Italy in order to bring about the union with the Latins and in order to be given some aid to defend the Christians. So he wrote to the pope; with utmost joy he received word that the cardinals and the pope himself would send ships and funds for expenses, because they desired the union of the churches; they had often wished it in the past, but it had been prevented by scandals from both sides. Pope Eugenios was governing the throne of Rome and, being aware of the weakness of the Eastern Romans, hoped that he would easily bring about the union and that they would agree to the beliefs of the Latins.<sup>12</sup>

12. So the emperor summoned all hierarchs<sup>13</sup> of the east and west and, similarly, the educated people; they all came to Constantinople: the [metropolitan of] Trebizond in the company of the philosopher Ameroutzes, Bessarion of Nikaia, the [metropolitan] of Russia, the philosopher Gemistos, and many other hierarchs. Lord Joseph was patriarch, who died in Florence.<sup>14</sup>

13. At that time they brought from Trebizond Maria Kantakouzene, the granddaughter of the *protostrator*, to be the wife of the emperor. For they had given the daughter of the same *protostrator* to the *protovestiarios* of the emperor of Trebizond. Maria was the most beautiful woman at that time. The emperor received her and showed her the utmost affection, on account of her beauty and mind.<sup>15</sup>

14. Συνάξεως οὖν γενομένης καὶ λειτουργήσαντες ἀρχιερεῖς τε καὶ κληρικοὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τριακόσιοι ἐν τῷ μεγίστῳ ναῷ τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου Σοφίας ἀπέπλευσαν, χειροτονήσαντες ὁ τε βασιλεὺς καὶ πατριάρχης τὸν Ἐφέσου κύρ Μάρκον τὸν 5 Εὐγενικὸν ἑξαρχον τῆς συνόδου. Ὁ βασιλεὺς γὰρ μετὰ ἰδίου κατέργου λαβῶν καὶ τὸν κύρ Δημήτριον τὸν δεσπότην ὡς κακώτροπον, φοβούμενος αὐτὸν μὴ ποιήσῃ σκάνδαλον ὡς καὶ ἄλλοτε. Πορευθέντες γὰρ ἐποίησαν διετίαν ὅλην μηδὲν κα- 10 τορθώσαντες· ποιήσαντες γὰρ ἔνωσιν οἱ μὲν, οἱ δὲ (ἐναντιού- μενος γὰρ ὁ Ἐφέσου οὐκ ἤθελεν ὑπογράψαι) ἄνευ γὰρ ἐκεί- νου οἱ πάντες ἔστερξαν καὶ ὑπέγραψαν.

15. Ἐλθόντες γὰρ ἐν τῇ Πόλει μετὰ παραδρομὴν ἐτῶν δύο εὗρε τὴν δέσποιναν Μαρίαν τελευτήσασαν· ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ δε- σπότης τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα τὴν τοῦ Καταλούζου θυγατέρα 5 αὐθεντὸς τῆς Αἴνου. Οἱ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Πόλει ὄντες κληρικοὶ καὶ μοναχοὶ καὶ ἡγούμενοι οὐκ ἤθελον συλλειτουργῆσαι ἢ μνη- μονεῦσαι τοὺς ἐλθόντας ἐκεῖθεν, ἀλλ' ἐπεσεῖοντο αὐτοὺς ὡς ἀσεβεῖς· οἱ πλειονες δὲ παρητοῦντο καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην, καὶ γέγονεν ἡ ἔνωσις οὐχ ἔνωσις ἀλλὰ διαίρεσις.

16. Ταῦτα γέγονεν ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς ἐκεῖνοις. Μὴ ὄντος δὲ πα- τριάρχου οὐδεὶς ἠθέλησε γενέσθαι ἐνεκεν τῶν σκανδάλων. Ὁ 5 Νικαίας δὲ Βησσαρίων ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ Ῥωσσίας ἔμειναν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ· ὁ γὰρ Βησσαρίων ἦν πολὺς ἐν τῷ λέγειν καὶ ἄκρος φιλόσοφος· γέγονε γὰρ καὶ γαρδινάλιος ἔχων τιμὴν καὶ δό- 5 ξαν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν· ἠγάπησε γὰρ τὴν δόξαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢ τοῦ θεοῦ.

14. In a gathering in the most great church, that of the Word of God's Wisdom, three hundred hierarchs and officials<sup>16</sup> celebrated the Liturgy before they set sail. The emperor and the patriarch appointed Lord Markos Eugenikos of Ephesos ex- arch of the delegation. The emperor took in his own ship Lord Demetrios, the despot, because he was a difficult man; he feared that he would create scandals as he had done in the past.<sup>17</sup> They reached their destination and wasted two full years, ac- 5 complishing nothing. Some agreed to the union but the [metropolitan of] Ephesos was unwilling to sign. Without him all the others agreed and signed.<sup>18</sup>

15. After the passage of two years they returned to the City; he found Lady Maria dead;<sup>19</sup> similarly, the wife of the despot, and daughter of Gattilusio, Lord of Ainos, had died. The of- 5 ficials, monks, and abbots in the City did not wish to celebrate the Liturgy or to perform memorial services in the company of those who had returned, but they treated them as if they were impious. The majority resigned from the priesthood. Thus the union was not a union but a division.

16. Such were the events of that time. No one wished to be ap- 5 pointed to the vacant post of patriarch, because of the scan- dals. Bessarion of Nikaia and similarly the [metropolitan of] Russia remained in Rome.<sup>20</sup> Bessarion was a good speaker and a first rate philosopher; he even became cardinal and enjoyed honor and considerable glory; for he had fallen in love with the glory of men rather than that of God.

17. Ἦν δὲ πνευματικὸς ἀνὴρ ἀγιώτατος ἐν τῇ Πόλει ὀνόματι Γρηγόριος, ᾧ τὸ ἐπικλῆν Μαμή· ὑπῆρχε δὲ σύντεκνος τοῦ μεγάλου δουκός· ἄρας οὖν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ θέλοντα ἐποίησε πατριάρχην. Ὀλίγου δὲ καιροῦ παρελθόντος καὶ τῶν σκανδάλων πληθυνομένων, ἐποίησε παραίτησιν, προεῖπε δὲ καὶ τῶ μεγάλῳ δουκὶ ὡς τὴν Πόλιν ἐν ὀλίγοις καιροῖς λήφονται οἱ Ἰσμαηλίται καὶ σὲ καὶ τοὺς υἱοὺς σου σφάξουσιν ἔμπροσθέν σου, ὃ καὶ γέγονεν.

18. Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς πεσὼν ἐν νόσῳ τῆς ἀρθρίτιδος ἐκυρίευσεν αὐτὸν ἐν ὅλῳ τῶ σώματι. Ὁ δὲ σουλτάν Μουράτης ὑποκριθεὶς ὡς ἐχορέσθη πλούτου καὶ δόξης, καταλιπὼν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν σουλτάν Μεχεμέτη ὄντα ἐν τῇ Μαγνησίᾳ, ἐξῆλθε καὶ παρέδωκε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτῷ, καὶ πορευθεὶς ἐν τῇ Μαγνησίᾳ καὶ κτίσας ἀνάκτορον ἰδίαζεν ἐντὸς τούτου.

19. Ὁ σουλτάν Μεχεμέτης δὲ νέος ὢν εἰς ἡλικίαν τοῦ μείρακος ἔσχε καὶ βεζήριδες τὸν τε Χαλοῦλ πασιᾶ καὶ Μπραϊμ πασιᾶ ἄνδρας φρονιμωτάτους, καὶ ἤκουεν αὐτῶν ἐν οὐδενί, ἀλλὰ σχολάζων ἦν ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ καὶ πότοις. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ τῶν Οὐγκρῶν ἀρχηγοὶ ὅτι βασιλεύει νέος καὶ ἄπειρος πολέμων ὤρμησαν κατὰ τῶν Τουρκῶν, τὸ πλεον ἐκ μηνυμάτων τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς τὸν κράλην καὶ τὸν Ἰαγκον· ἦν γὰρ ὁ Ἰαγκος στρατηγὸς μέγας· καὶ διεμηνύσατο πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς μεθ' ὄρκου ὡς ἐὰν δυνηθῆς ἐκβαλεῖν τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἡμῶν ἐκ τῆς Δύσεως τὸ στέμμα τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλείας θήσω ἐν τῇ σῇ κορυφῇ, ὡς ἐλευθερωτῆν τῶν χριστιανῶν καὶ τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν, καὶ ἕτερα ῥήματα πιθανὰ διεμηνύσατο πρὸς αὐτόν.

17. There was a most saintly and spiritual individual in the City, named Gregory; he was also known as Mamas.<sup>21</sup> He happened to be a foster brother of the grand duke.<sup>22</sup> The latter raised him to the post of patriarch, even though Gregory was unwilling. After a short time had passed and the scandals had multiplied, he resigned. He even foretold the grand duke that the Ismaelites would seize the City in a few years: "They will slaughter your children in your presence and will kill you." This came to pass.<sup>23</sup>

18. The emperor suffered an attack of arthritis which spread throughout his body. And Sultan Murad pretended that he had had his fill of glory and wealth; he left the realm to his son, Sultan Mehmed, who was in Magnesia, departed, handed over the realm to him, came to Magnesia, built a palace for himself, and lived indoors as a private individual.<sup>24</sup>

19. Sultan Mehmed, a young adolescent,<sup>25</sup> had as his viziers Halil Pasha and Ibrahim Pasha, two very sensible individuals, to whom however, he paid no attention whatsoever but spent his time hunting and drinking. When the leaders of the Hungarians heard that a young man, inexperienced in war, was reigning, they attacked the Turks; their information was supplied mainly by messages from the emperor to the *kral* and to Janco.<sup>26</sup> This Janco was a great general; the emperor sent him a message with an oath; "If you succeed in expelling our enemy from the West, I will place the crown of my realm upon your head, as you will be the liberator of the Christians and of our faith." He also sent other similar words to him.

20. Ἦλθον δὲ περαιωθέντες ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Δανούβειος μετὰ  
 δυνάμειος πλείστης, λεηλατοῦντες τὰς χώρας καὶ κάστρη τῆς  
 Βουλγαρίας· ὑπέκυψαν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἅπαντα κατελθόντες μέχρι  
 Βάρνης αὐτῆς· παρέλαβον γὰρ αὐτὴν καθεζόμενοι ἐν μέθῃ καὶ  
 5 ἀκολασία ἀρπάζοντες καὶ ἀφανίζοντες τοὺς χριστιανοὺς καθ'  
 ἑκάστην. Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ βεζήριδες ὅτι μέλλουσι καταπατῆσαι πᾶ-  
 σαν τὴν Δύσει μετὰ μεγάλης ὀρμῆς διεμνησαντο τὸν σουλτάν  
 Μουράτην ὄντα ἐν τῇ Μαγνησίᾳ γράφοντες πρὸς αὐτὸν οὕτως·  
 ὅπως ὁ υἱός σου ἔστι νέος καὶ ἄπειρος πολέμου καὶ οὐκ ἀκούει  
 10 ἡμῶν, ἔλθε οὖν διασυντόμως ὅτι κινδυνεύει ἀφανισθῆναι τὸ  
 ἡμέτερον γένος, καὶ ἔστιν ἡ ἁμαρτία ἐν τῇ σῆ ψυχῇ. Ἀκούσας  
 οὖν τοὺς τοιοῦτους λόγους ἦλθε μέχρι Πόλεως ἀντικρῶ ἐν τῷ  
 λεγομένῳ Σκουταρίῳ· φοβούμενος δὲ περάσαι ἦλθεν ὁ Χαλοῦλ  
 πασιᾶς μετὰ φουσάτου ἀντικρῶ ἐκ τοῦ δυτικῆς μέρους τοῦ  
 15 Ἀσωμαίου καὶ διεμνησάτο πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ὅτι περάσει  
 αὐτόν. Ἔστειλαν οὖν κάτεργον καὶ ἐπέρασεν αὐτόν, φοβού-  
 μενος μήπως πορευθῆ περάσει ἐκ τῆς Καλλιουπόλεως καὶ  
 ποιήσῃ μάχην μετὰ τῆς Πόλεως· ἐκράτει γὰρ καὶ ἐκ τῶν δύο  
 μερῶν ἡ θαυμαστὴ γυνῶσις τοῦ βασιλέως.

21. Πορευθεὶς οὖν ἐν τῇ Βάρνῃ συνάπτει πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν  
 Οὐγγρῶν καὶ νικῶσι αὐτόν κατὰ κράτος, ἀφανίσαντες τὰ φου-  
 σάτα Δύσεως καὶ Ἀνατολῆς· ἔπεσε δὲ καὶ ὁ Καρατζᾶ πασιᾶς  
 5 μπεγλερμπέις ὡν τῆς Ἀνατολῆς, καὶ ἐγένετο ἀφανισμὸς  
 μέγας· κατελείφθη δὲ ὁ αὐθέντης μετὰ τῆς πόρτας αὐτοῦ μόνος.  
 Ἐκάθησαν οὖν εἰς βουλήν οἱ Οὐγγροι ὅπως δώσωσι καὶ τὴν  
 πόρταν· ὑπῆρχεν γὰρ ὁ Ἰαγκος ἐμπειρότατος ἐν πολέμοις,  
 λέγει δὲ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ κράλη καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων ὅτι φαίνεται  
 μοι καλὸν ἵνα πορευθῶ ἐγὼ μετὰ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν στρατιωτῶν  
 10 ὧν ἐγὼ οἶδα, καὶ εἰ μὲν εὐδοκοῦντος Θεοῦ εὐτυχήσω, τῷ Θεῷ  
 χάρις· εἰ δὲ γένηται τὸ ἐναντίον, πάλιν ὁ κράλης ἴσταται μετὰ  
 τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ· εἰ δὲ πορευθῆ ὁ κράλης καὶ γενῆ ἄλλοστρό-  
 πως, τί μέλλομεν γενέσθαι;

20. They crossed the Danube and came with a strong force,  
 raiding the countryside and the cities of Bulgaria. Every place  
 submitted to them all the way down to Varna itself. They seized  
 it, occupied it and, in drunkenness and lack of discipline, robbed  
 and destroyed the Christians daily. When the viziers saw that  
 they were about to subdue the entire West with great force, they  
 sent a message to Sultan Murad who was in Magnesia. They  
 wrote to him as follows: "Since your son is young and inex-  
 perenced in war and refuses to listen to us, come as soon as  
 possible because our race is running the risk of being exter-  
 minated; the sin will be on your soul." When he heard such  
 words he came as far as the City, on the shore opposite, to the  
 so-called Skoutarion. As he was afraid to cross, Halil Pasha came  
 with an army on the opposite shore, in the western part called  
 Asomatos and sent a message to the emperor to ferry him across.  
 They sent a galley and he crossed, in fear that he might pass  
 from Kallipolis and might become involved in a fight against  
 the City; for the admirable sense of the emperor was felt on  
 both sides.<sup>27</sup>

21. So he [Murad] marched to Varna and began a battle against  
 the Hungarians; they defeated him decisively, destroying the  
 armies of the West and of Anatolia. Karaca Pasha, the *beglerbeg*  
 of Anatolia fell; there was great destruction. The sovereign was  
 left alone with his Porte. The Hungarians held a council to at-  
 tack the Porte also. Janco, most experienced in war, was pre-  
 sent and spoke to the *kral* and to the leaders: "It seems to me  
 that I should attack with the soldiers I will pick myself and if  
 I am victorious with God's favor, glory be to God; if the op-  
 posite happens, again the *kral* will stand with his army. If the  
*kral* attacks and meets with adversity, what will become of us?"



22. Ἦρεσεν οὖν ἡ βουλή πᾶσι, ὁ κρᾶλης δὲ νέος ὦν οὐκ ἤκουσε τὴν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ βουλήν, ἀλλ' ἤκουσε βουλὰς νέων εἰπόντων αὐτῷ, ὡς νίκη ἕως τοῦ νῦν σὴ ἔστι· τί γὰρ ἀπέμεινεν; μόνον τοῦ πιάσαι τὸν αὐθέντην ἰδίας χερσίν· εἰ δὲ πορευθῆ ὁ Ἰαγκος, 5 μέλλει γενέσθαι φήμη ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐποίησε τὴν νίκην. Ἀκούσας οὖν τοὺς λόγους τῶν νέων, εὐθέως ἔδωκαν τὰς σάλπιγγας ἐξ ἐκατέρου μέρους. Καβαλλικεύσας γὰρ ἐκ τῆς χαρᾶς καὶ τῆς μέθης (ἔθος γὰρ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς πίνειν οἶνον καὶ μεθύσκεσθαι) ὤρμησε γὰρ ἐκ τῆς μέθης θαρρῶν ἔχειν αὐτὸν εὐκολον θήραμα 10 ἔμπροσθεν παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ· ἀνοιξάντες γὰρ καὶ δόντες αὐτῷ δρόμον οἱ στρατηγοί.

23. Βουληθεὶς γὰρ ὁ σουλτὰν Μουράτης φυγεῖν, οὐκ εἶσάν αὐτὸν οἱ γενιτζαροὶ αὐτοῦ, εἰπόντες ὅτι χρεῖα ἔστιν ἵνα ἀποθάνῃς μεθ' ἡμῶν. Ὁ δὲ κρᾶλης εὐρῶν δρόμον εἰσῆλθε πη- 5 σιάσας ἀτάκτως τῷ αὐθέντῃ· εἰς δὲ τῶν γενιτζάρων ὀνόματι Χαμουζᾶς κρούσας τοὺς ἔμπροσθίους πόδας τοῦ ἵππου μετὰ ἀξίνης μικρᾶς εὐρεθείσης ἐν ταῖς χερσίν αὐτοῦ, ἀπέκοψεν αὐτούς, καὶ πεσὼν ὁ ἵππος πλησίον τοῦ αὐθεντὸς ἔρριψε τὸν κρᾶλην· καὶ πιάσαντες αὐτὸν ἀπέτεμον τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ θέντες ἐν δόρυ ἠγάλαξαν, καὶ εὐθέως ἐστράφη ὁ λαὸς τοῦ 10 κρᾶλη ὀπισθεν· καὶ διώξαντες αὐτούς, τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ ἔλαβον αἰχμαλώτους· οἱ δὲ πλείονες αὐτῶν διακόμενοι ἀπεπνίγησαν ἐν τῇ λίμνῃ τῇ πλησίον Βάρνης.

24. Ταῦτα ἐποίησεν ἡ κακοσυμβουλία. Ὁ δὲ Ἰαγκος προῖδὼν τὸ ἐσόμενον ὡς στρατιώτης δι' ἄλλης ὁδοῦ ἀνεχώρησεν ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ πατριδι. Ὁ δὲ σουλτὰν Μουράτης ἐπιστρέψας νικητῆς καὶ τροπαιούχος ἐποίησε τὸν γενιτζαριν Χαμουζᾶν σατζάκμπεϊ 5 τῆς Φιλαδελφείας.

22. His advice was pleasing to all. But the *kral* who was young did not listen to the general's opinion. He heard instead the plans of the young men who spoke to him: "Until now the victory is yours; what is left? You only need to capture the sovereign himself with your own hands. If Janco attacks, there will be a rumor that he won the battle." When he heard the arguments of the young men, he immediately had the trumpets sounded on both sides; he mounted and attacked in joy and in inebriation (it is their custom to drink wine and become intoxicated); because he was drunk, he hoped that he would have an easy prey before the eyes of all his soldiers. The generals made a passage and allowed him to charge.

23. Sultan Murad wished to flee but his janissaries did not allow it, saying: "You must die with us." The *kral* found a path and approached the sovereign without formation. One of the janissaries called Hamza struck and cut off the front legs of his horse with a small ax that he happened to be holding; as the horse fell near the sovereign, it threw down the *kral*. They caught him, cut his head off, and shouted in triumph as they mounted it on a spear. Immediately the army of the *kral* turned and fled. They gave pursuit; some they killed and others they took prisoners. Most of them drowned during the pursuit in the lake that is near Varna.<sup>28</sup>

24. Such were the results of bad advice. Janco, however, who, as a soldier, had foreseen what was going to happen, left by another road and departed for his homeland. Sultan Murad returned in victory and triumph and made the janissary Hamza *sancakbeg* of Philadelphia.<sup>29</sup>

25. Τὸν δὲ υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν σουλτάν Μεχεμέτη ἔστειλε πάλιν ἐν τῇ Μαγνησίᾳ ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡγεμονίᾳ· αὐτὸς δὲ παραλαβὼν πᾶσαν τὴν βασιλείαν ὣν ἐν τῇ Ἀδριανουπόλει, μετὰ παραδρομὴν ἑτῶν τριῶν ἐτελεύτησε ταφείς ἐν τῇ Προύσῃ. Καὶ πάλιν ἔλαβε κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν πᾶσαν βασιλείαν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ.

26. Ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ δὲ ἐτελεύτησε καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς κύρ Ἰωάννης ὁ Παλαιολόγος. Ἦλθον οὖν οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ, ὃ τε Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ Δράγασις καὶ Δημήτριος καὶ Θωμᾶς, ἐν τῇ Πόλει· παραδόντες τὴν βασιλείαν πρὸς τὸν Κωνσταντῖνον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ αὐτοὶ οὖν μερίσαντες τὴν Πελοπόννησον ἐπορεύθησαν.

27. Ὁ δὲ σουλτάν Μεχεμέτης παραλαβὼν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Δύσεως καὶ Ἀνατολῆς βουλήν ἐβουλεύσατο πικροτάτην κατὰ τῆς Πόλεως καὶ τῶν χριστιανῶν· καὶ πρῶτον ὑπεκρίθη φιλίαν ἄκραν μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν, γέμουσαν δόλου καὶ πικρίας. Κτίζει οὖν ἄνωθεν τοῦ Φάρου εἰς τόπον λεγόμενον Φονέαν ὅπερ νῦν ἴσεται τὸ Νεόκαστρον μετὰ πύργων ἰσχυρῶν καὶ στερεῶν. Ἐδίδου γὰρ οἱ πολῖται τροφὰς καὶ λίθους εἰς τὴν κτίσιν αὐτοῦ, φοβούμενοι αὐτὸν μήπως ἄρῃ μάχην μετ' αὐτῶν. Ἐδύναντο γὰρ αὐτὸν κωλύσαι ἀλλ' ἐθάβρουν εἰς τοὺς ὄρκους οὓσπερ εἶχον μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ, οὓς ἔστερξε καὶ ἐβεβαίωσε καὶ αὐτός. Ἐδείκνυε γὰρ ἄκραν φιλίαν ἕως οὗ τελειώσῃ τὸ κάστρον. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ τελειῶσαι καὶ ἀπαρτίσαι αὐτὸ ἔθετο σκῆπτρα καὶ φυλακὰς καὶ σκευὰς. Εἶχον γὰρ δόξαν οἱ πολῖται ὅπως λάβωσιν αὐτὸ ἐὰν ποιήσῃ μάχην μετ' αὐτῶν, ἔχοντες ἐλπίδα κενήν· πῶς γὰρ εἶχον λαβεῖν αὐτό, τοσοῦτον ὄν στερεόν; Κεναὶ γὰρ ἐλπίδες τρέφουσι τοὺς ἀνοήτους.

25. Again he sent his son Sultan Mehmed to Magnesia, his former post, while he took over the entire realm and resided at Adrianople. Three years later he died and was buried in Prousa. And again, in truth now, his son took over the entire realm.<sup>30</sup>

26. Shortly thereafter, the emperor, Lord John Palaiologos, died. His brothers, Constantine Dragases, Demetrios, and Thomas, came to the City. They handed over the realm to Constantine, his son; they divided the Peloponnesos among themselves and departed.<sup>31</sup>

27. Once Sultan Mehmed had taken over the realm, East and West, he made a decision which proved most bitter to the City and to the Christians. At first he pretended total friendship with the Constantinopolitans; it was, however, full of deceit and bitterness. He built a castle, above Pharos, in a place called Murderer, where the New Castle nowadays stands; it has strong and solid towers.<sup>32</sup> The Constantinopolitans contributed food and stones for its erection, as they feared that he might attack them. They could have prevented him but they had faith in the oaths that they had taken with his father; these he had extended and confirmed. So he displayed total friendship until the castle was completed. After it had been completed and equipped, he placed standards, guards, and cannons. The Constantinopolitans believed that they could seize it, if he went to war against them but this was an empty hope. How could they seize it, when it was so strong? Empty hopes nourish foolish minds.<sup>33</sup>

28. Τελειώσας οὖν αὐτὸ ἐπορεύετο ἐν Ἀδριανουπόλει εἰπὼν ὅτι τὸν Ἀπριλιον ἔρχομαι πάλιν καὶ γνώτωσαν οἱ ἐν τῇ Πόλει. Ἔπειτα δὲ τὸ πορευθῆναι τὸν αὐθέντην οὐ μακράν, ἐποίησαν πηλάλημα καὶ τοὺς εὐρεθέντας ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς τοῦ μέρους τοῦ Ἀσωμάτου καὶ τοῦ Ἀγίου Φωκᾶ ἀρπάσαντες αἰφνιδίως ἀπῆλθον. Διεμηνύσαντο δὲ οἱ πολῖται, ὡς οὐκ ἔστι δίκαιον, μενούσης τῆς ἀγάπης, ἵνα ἀρπάσῃ τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἀνθρώπους. Τοὺς μὲν οὖν ἀρπάσαντες, τοὺς δὲ ἀποκτείναντες, εἶπον οὖν εἰς τοὺς σταλέντας ὅτι ὁ αὐθέντης οὐκ οἶδε τὸ γενόμενον· ὦρσεν οὖν ὅπως ἐξετάσαντες εὕρωμεν τούτους καὶ στείλωμεν πάλιν εἰς ἴδια. Εἰρωνεύμενοι καὶ γελῶντες αὐτούς· γέγονε φανερά ἡ μάχη.

29. Τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ ἔτει ὥρμησεν ὡσπερ θῆρ ἄγριος κατὰ τῆς Πόλεως μετὰ πλήθους ἀναριθμήτου ἐκ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάττης· καὶ τὴν μὲν γῆν ἐπλήρωσεν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἵππων, τὴν δὲ θάλασσαν διὰ τῶν μακρῶν νηῶν ὅτι πλείστων. Γεμίσαντες γὰρ τὰς νῆας ἐκ τῶν χωρῶν τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ μέρους τῆς Μαύρης Θαλάσσης βία ἀνθρώπους ἔβαλον εἰς αὐτάς. Ἐλθόντων γὰρ τῶν νηῶν ἐκωλύοντο διὰ τῆς ἀλύσου τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν ἐντὸς τοῦ λιμένος. Ἐποίησαν οὖν κατασκευὴν οἷα εἰκὸς θαυμάσαι καὶ ἐκπλαγῆναι· πετάσαντες γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰ ἱστία καὶ θέντες τὰς κώπας ἐν τοῖς τόποις αὐτῶν, ἔσυρον αὐτὰ ἐν τῇ χέρσῳ· πλήθος λαοῦ ἀναριθμήτου ἀναβιβάσαντες αὐτὰ ἐν τοῖς ὑψηλοτάτοις ὄρεσι μετὰ τυμπάνων καὶ σαλπίγγων καὶ σύροντες κατεβίβασαν ἐν τοῖς Γλυκέσι Νεροῖς, καὶ ἐκυρίευσαν τὸν λιμένα ποιήσαντες σκάλας μετὰ βουτζίων καὶ σανίδων ἐκ τῆς Ἁγίας Γαλατινῆς ἕως Ευλοπόρτου καὶ ἔδωσαν τὰ τεῖχη τῆς Πόλεως μηδενὸς κωλύοντος.

28. Once the castle had been finished, he marched to Adrianople, saying, "I will return next April; let the people in the City know it." The sovereign had not marched a great distance, when, suddenly, they charged, abducted, and carried away the people that happened to be in the fields of the region Asomatos and of Saint Phokas. The Constantinopolitans complained: "It is not just to abduct our people while we have a treaty of friendship. Some were abducted and others were killed." They replied to the envoys: "The sovereign had no knowledge of what happened; he has instructed us to investigate, to find these people, and to send them home." They made sport of them and mocked them. War was imminent.

29. In the same year he rushed, like a wild beast, towards the City with a countless multitude, from land and sea. The land was filled with men and horses while the sea was full of long ships, the greatest number possible. They manned the ships with individuals from the regions of the emperor by the Black Sea. They had been recruited by force. When the ships arrived, they were prevented from entering the harbor by the chain. So they resorted to a marvelous and astonishing tactic: they unfurled the sails, put the oars in their places, and dragged the ships over land. A multitude of countless soldiers pulled the ships to the very high hills [of Galata] to the accompaniment of drums and trumpets and then dragged them down to the Sweet Waters. Thus, they took command of the harbor. Then they constructed quays with empty containers and planks that extended from Saint Galatine to the Wooden Gate and attacked the walls of the City, as there was nothing to prevent them.<sup>34</sup>

30. Παρακαθημένον οὖν αὐτὴν ἐκ στερεᾶς καὶ θαλάσσης ἐχάλασε τὸ τεῖχος μετὰ τῆς μεγάλης σκευῆς ἀπὸ τῆς πύλης τῆς λεγομένης Χερσοῦς ἕως τῆς πύλης τοῦ Ἁγίου Ῥωμανοῦ, ῥίφας τε τεῖχη οὐκ ὀλίγα. Ἐφύλαττον οὖν αὐτὸ ποιοῦντες ξυλοσκευὰς μετὰ κληματίδων καὶ βαμπάκων. Εὐρέθη γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις τις ἄρχων Γενουβίτης ὀνόματι Ἰουστινίας μετὰ καραβίων μεγάλων δύο, καὶ ἰδὼν τὴν ἀδυναμίαν αὐτῶν ὅτι οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀρχόντων ἠθέλησε σταθῆναι ἐν τῇ χαλαστρίᾳ, ἀλλὰ ἐσυνερίζοντο, σταθεὶς ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων

10 ἔφη· δύναμαι ἐγὼ μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ σταθῆναι καὶ ἀντιμαχήσασθαι καὶ βαστάσαι τὴν χαλαστρίαν ἔνεκεν τοῦ ὀνόματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ μετὰ βρώσεως καὶ πόσεως τῆς ἡμέρης. Εὐχαρίστησαν οὖν αὐτὸν ἅπαντες. Ἐδιέμεινεν οὖν ὁ ἄρχων ἐκεῖνος φυλάττων καὶ ἀντιμαχῶν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας πλείστας καὶ οὐκ εἶα τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν

15 αὐτοῦς ἐντὸς τοῦ κάστρου. Ἄλλ' ὅρα τὴν ἀμαρτίαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγκατάλειψιν· ἰσταμένου γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀντιμαχοῦντος, ἔλθοῦσα βολὴς ἐκ σκλόπου δέδωκεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸν δεξιὸν πόδα, καὶ πεσὼν χαμαὶ ὥσπερ τεθνηκώς, ἄραντες αὐτὸν οἱ ἰδιοὶ ἄνθρωποι ἀπῆλθον ἐν τοῖς πλοίοις καὶ ποιήσαντες ἰστία

20 ἀπέδρασαν ἐκ τῆς Χίου νήσου, κάκει ἔτελεύτησεν. Ἐφημίσθη οὖν ὅτι ἐνδοθεν τοῦ κάστρου δέδωκαν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ οὐκ οἶδὲ τις ὅπως γέγονεν.

31. Ἐτι δὲ ζῶντος τοῦ ἄρχοντος ἐποίησαν βουλὴν οἱ πολῖται στειλαντες νυκτὸς μετὰ τζιβούδας νέους τεσσαράκοντα ὅπως πυρπολήσωσι τὴν ἀρμάδα κρυφίως. Ἐξῆλθον γὰρ ἐκ τῆς πύλης τοῦ Κυνηγοῦ περάσαντες ἀντικρυ. Μαθόντες γὰρ οἱ ἐκ τοῦ

5 Γαλάτου Φράγγοι φιλεύμενοι μετὰ τῶν Τουρκῶν καὶ ποιήσαντες φῶτα ἄνωθεν τοῦ μεγάλου πύργου, ἔσυρον σκευὰς ἐκ τῶν κατέργων καὶ ἐβούλισαν τὴν τζιβούδαν καὶ ἀπεπνίγησαν οἱ θαυμαστοὶ νέοι ἐκεῖνοι.

30. Thus, he besieged the City by land and sea. He destroyed with the big cannon<sup>35</sup> the section of the walls from the Gate called Charsia to the Gate of Saint Romanos. Many sections of the walls were brought down. Those sectors were fortified nevertheless with stockades made of brushwood and cotton. There happened to be present, in those days, a nobleman from Genoa called Giustiniani, who commanded two large ships; when he saw their weakness and realized that no nobleman wished to defend the demolished sector but that the nobles were quarrelling among themselves, he rose, faced the emperor and the noblemen, and said: "I can guard the demolished sector with my soldiers; I will defend it for the name of Christ; I will provide my own food and drink." All thanked him. This nobleman took his position and fought for many days, preventing them from entering the fortifications. But observe our sin and God's departure: while he was at his post fighting, a shot from an arquebus hit him on the right leg; he collapsed like a corpse. His own men took him, went to the ships, made sail, and escaped as far as the island of Chios, where he died. It was rumored that he had been shot from within the fortifications but no one knows how it really came about.<sup>36</sup>

31. While the nobleman was still alive, the Constantinopolitans decided to send a vessel in the night with forty young men on board to set fire to the armada in secret. They left from the Gate of Kynegos and crossed over. But the Franks of Galata, who were befriending the Turks, discovered this and lit a fire on top of the tall tower. So they brought their cannons from the galleys and sank the vessel. Thus those admirable young men drowned.<sup>37</sup>

32. Ἀπορήσαντες γὰρ οἱ πολῖται οὐκ εἶχον τί διαπράξασθαι εἰς τοσοῦτον ἀναρίθμητον πλῆθος (σχεδὸν εἰπεῖν ἕνα εἰς χιλίους ὄντα). Μενούσης οὖν τῆς χαλάστριας ἄτερ ὄχλου, γνόντες οἱ πολῖται ὅτι βούλεται συνάφαι πόλεμον ἰσχυρὸν τὴν αὐρίον, 5 ἐξήλθον εἰς τὸ ἐξώκαστρον φοβούμενοι μὴ πλησιάσασωιν ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις τείχεσι. Οἱ γὰρ Τοῦρκοι ποιήσαντες πιλάλημα εἰσέεισαν ἐκ τῆς χαλάστριας καὶ ἔλαβον τὰ μεγάλα τεῖχη βάλλοντες σκῆπτρον ἐν τοῖς πύργοις. Ὁ δὲ λαὸς τῆς Πόλεως ἦν ἔξω. Ἀκούσαντες γὰρ τὸν ἀλαλαγμὸν καὶ ἰδόντες καὶ τὰ 10 σκῆπτρα ἐν τοῖς πύργοις ὤρμησαν εἰσελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς πύλης τῆς τε Χαρσοῦς ὅπως ἐξέλωσι τοὺς Τοῦρκους· καὶ ἀπεπνίγησαν ἐκ τῆς πληρομονῆς μὴ δυνθθέντες εἰσελθεῖν ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν σωμάτων, γεμισθέντων τῶν πυλῶν τῆς τε Χαρσοῦς καὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Ῥωμανοῦ μέχρις ἀφίδων αὐτῶν. Ὡς καὶ τοὺς αἰχμα- 15 λώτους, γυναῖκας τε καὶ παῖδας, μὴ δυναμένους ἐξελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν σχοινίοις χαλνῶντες αὐτούς.

33. Οὕτως γέγονε ἡ ἄλωσις τῆς περιφήμου Πόλεως ἐν ἔτει 3 Ζαΐ, μηνὶ Μαΐῳ κθ', ἡμέρᾳ Τρίτῃ πρωί. Τῆς ἀνοχῆς σου 5 δέσποτα παντοκράτωρ. Τίς γὰρ φησιν ἔγνω νοῦν Κυρίου ἢ τίς σύμβουλος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο; Ἀλλὰ τίς μὴ κλαύση καὶ θρη- 5 νῆση τὸν λεηλατισμὸν ταύτης τῆς εὐδαίμονος πασῶν τῶν πόλεων καὶ ὑπερκειμένης; ποία καρδία λιθώδης ἦτις οὐ μὴ λάβῃ πόνων τῆς συμφορᾶς ἐκείνης; Καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν, φεῦ, ἀρπαζόμενα ἐκ τῶν μοναστηρίων σκευὴ ἱερὰ καὶ ναοὺς πατουμένους καὶ λεηλατοῦντες ἅπαντα. Τί δὲ γυναικῶν μοναζουσῶν ἀρπα- 10 γάς, αἱ θεῶ ἔζων καὶ παρθενίαν ἥσκουν; Ἀρχόντων θυγατέρες αἱ τῶ μοναχικῶ σχήματι ὑπέκλιναν τὸν ἑαυτῶν αὐχένα δούλας γενομένας καὶ ἔλκομένας ἐπ' ἀγορᾶ καὶ ὑβρίζομένας καὶ μαινομένας ὑπὸ τῶν ἀσεβῶν. Ἱερεῖς τε καὶ μοναχοὺς μετὰ 15 σχοινίων δεδεμένους καὶ ἔλκομένους· καὶ τίς ἱκανὸς φράσαι

32. The Constantinopolitans were at a loss; there was nothing that they could do against such a countless multitude (almost one man against one thousand). When the demolished sector failed to be approached by the mob, the Constantinopolitans realized that a strong attack would be launched on the following day. So they came out to the outer fortifications, as they feared that they would come close to the great walls.<sup>38</sup> The Turks charged, entered the demolished sector, took charge of the great walls, and raised their standard on the towers. But the army of the City was outside. When they heard the shouting and saw the standards on the towers, they rushed to enter through the Charsia Gate in order to expel the Turks. And they perished in the press; they could not enter because of the dead bodies blocking the entrance (the Gates of Charsia and of Saint Romanos were congested, all the way up to the arches). Later, the captives, women and children, could not be brought out but had to be lowered by rope from the walls.<sup>39</sup>

33. So the capture of the renowned City took place in the year 6961 [1453], on May 29, Tuesday morning. Great is your patience, Lord of the Universe! Who can say that he knew the Lord's mind or that he had knowledge of His plans? Who cannot cry or mourn over the pillage of the happiest and most prosperous city in the world? What heart is made of stone and fails to feel the anguish of that calamity? Alas, one could see sacred vessels snatched from monasteries, churches being forced open, and widespread pillage. What is one to say about the abduction of nuns who lived in God and had maintained their virginity? What about the daughters of noblemen, who were also nuns, and were now being led, with curses, to the market to be polluted by the impious and were forced to bend their heads as slaves? Priests and monks were tied with ropes and were taken away.

15 τὴν τότε γεναμένην συμφορὰν καὶ θεήλατον ὀργήν; Φοβερὸν γὰρ τὸ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς χεῖρας θεοῦ ζῶντος. Τί δὲ καὶ τὰ τῶν βασιλέων μνήματα ἀνοιγόμενα καὶ περιπαιζόμενα τὰ ὅσα αὐτῶν, ἐλπίζοντες εὐρεῖν ἐν αὐτοῖς τὸν ἐξ ὑφασμάτων χρυσόν· τοῦ τε βασιλέως Κωνσταντίνου καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν βασιλέων τὰ  
 20 λείψανα κείμενα ἐν μέσῳ κοπρίας καταπατοῦντες αὐτά. Φθέγξομαι γὰρ καὶ τὸ τοῦ Δαβὶδ θρηγῶν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἱερουσαλήμ, ὡς ὀπωροφυλάκιον ἔθεντο τὰ θνησιμαῖα τῶν δούλων σου, βρώματα τοῖς πετηνοῖς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὰς σάρκας τῶν ὁσίων σου, τοῖς θηρίοις τῆς γῆς ἐξέχεαν τὸ αἷμα αὐτῶν ὡσεὶ ὕδωρ κύκλω  
 25 Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὁ θάπτων· ἐγενήθημεν ὄνειδος τοῖς γείτοσιν ἡμῖν, μωκτηρισμὸς καὶ χλευασμὸς τοῖς κύκλω ἡμῶν· ἕως πότε Κύριε, ὀργισθήσῃ εἰς τέλος; ἢ καὶ τὴν τῶν παιδῶν ὥδῃν ὄντων ἐν μέσῳ καιομένης φλογός, ὅτι δίκαιος εἶ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν οἷς ἐποίησας ἡμῖν;

34. Καὶ παρεδόθημεν εἰς χεῖρας ἐχθρῶν ἀνόμων ἐχθίστων ἀποστατῶν καὶ βασιλεῖ ἀδίκῳ καὶ πονηροτάτῳ παρὰ πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν διὰ τὰς ἀμαρτίας ἡμῶν. Πῶς κατεδέξατο ἡ ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ Θεοῦ λόγου κτισθεῖσα Σοφία, ὁ ἐπίγειος παράδεισος, ἡ  
 5 νέα Σιών, τὸ καύχημα πάσης τῆς οἰκουμένης, τὸ ἄγαλμα τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, ἡ ὑπερέχουσα πάντων τῶν τῆς γῆς κτισμάτων. Ὡ τοῦ θαύματος· ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ περιώνυμος ναὸς γέγονε νῦν ναὸς τῶν Ἰσμηλιτῶν. Φρίξον, ἤλιε· στέναξον ἡ γῆ καὶ κλοουμένη βόησον· ἀνεξίκακε Κύριε, δόξα Σοι.

Who can describe such a calamity and such god-sent wrath? What a terrible fate it is, to fall into the hands of the living God! What can one say about the imperial tombs that were pried open? Bones were thrown around in jest; they hoped to find within the golden thread from the vestments. They trampled over the remains of Emperor Constantine and those of other emperors and threw them into heaps of manure. Am I to sing again David's lamentation for Jerusalem? They placed the mortal remains of Your slaves as if to display them in a vegetable shop; they offered the flesh of Your saints as prey to the birds of heaven; they poured the blood as if it were water, to the beasts of the earth, all around Jerusalem, and there was no one to bury them: "Thou makest us a reproach to our neighbors, a scorn and a derision to them that are about us."<sup>40</sup> When, Lord, when will Your wrath come to an end? Should I sing the song about the children in the middle of the flaming fire? You are just; we deserve everything that You have sent upon us.

34. So we were delivered into the hands of lawless foes and most hateful apostates, into the hands of an unjust and most wicked emperor, throughout the entire earth, on account of our sins. How could the Church of Hagia Sophia endure it? Named after God's Word, it was the earthly paradise, the new Zion, the boast of the world, the delight of churches, and the most proud building on the earth. What a marvel: the famous church of God now became a temple of the Ismaelites. Shudder, O Sun; groan, O Earth; shake and cry out: Glory to You, enduring Lord.<sup>41</sup>

35. Τούτω τῷ τρόπῳ ἤχμαλώτιστο ἡ Κωνσταντινούπολις. Ὁ ταλαίπωρος δὲ βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντῖνος ἅμα τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν τοὺς Τούρκους ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ Ἁγίου Ῥωμανοῦ περιπατῶν μετὰ καὶ ἐτέρων ἀρχόντων θεωροῦντες τὰ τεῖχη ὑπήντησαν  
 5 αὐτῶ μερικοὶ Τούρκοι καὶ πολεμήσαντες οὐ κατεδέξαντο δουλωθῆναι αὐτοῖς, ὅθεν ἀπέτεμον τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ μετὰ καὶ τῶν εὐρεθέντων μετ' αὐτοῦ, μὴ εἰδότες ὅτι ἔστι βασιλεὺς. Ὑστερον δὲ πολλῆς ζητήσεως γεναμένης περὶ αὐτοῦ, φοβούμενος ὁ αὐθέντης μήπως ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν ἐστὶ καὶ πορευθεὶς φέρῃ  
 10 ἐκ τῆς Φραγγίας λαὸν κατ' αὐτοῦ, εὗρον γὰρ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀνεγνώρισαν αὐτὴν ὅ τε Μάμαλις καὶ οἱ ἕτεροι ἄρχοντες, καὶ οὕτως ἡσύχασεν.

36. Τὴν δὲ χαρὰν ἥνπερ ἔσχεν ὁ αὐθέντης, τίς διηγῆσεται, ὅτι γέγονε κύριος τοιοῦτου κάστρου ἐκλεκτοῦ; Μετὰ δὲ παραδρομῆν ἡμερῶν πέντε γέγονε ζήτησις τῶν μεγάλων ἀρχόντων, τὸν τε μέγαν δοῦκα καὶ τὸν μέγα δομέστικον καὶ τὸν  
 5 πρωτοστράτορα υἱὸν Καντακουζηνοῦ τοῦ μεσάζοντος καὶ ἕτερους ἐκλεκτοτέρους, καὶ ἀπεκεφάλισεν ἅπαντας. Τὸν δὲ μέγαν δοῦκα ἔσφαξε τοὺς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ· τὸν δὲ νεώτερον υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἰσακίον ἔβαλεν ἐν τῷ σαραγίῳ, καὶ ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἀπέδρασαν ἐκ τοῦ σαραγίου ἐν τῇ Ἀδριανουπόλει καὶ ἐγένετο ἀφανής· ὕστερον δὲ εὐρέθη ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐν τῇ  
 10 ἀδελφῇ αὐτοῦ σταλεῖσα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς πρὸ τῆς ἀλώσεως μετὰ πλοῦτου ἀπείρου. Ἀπέτεμε δὲ πάντας ἐν μιᾷ ἡμέρᾳ, τὰ δὲ σώματα πάντα ὅσα ἦν ἐν ταῖς πύλαις ἐντὸς καὶ ἐκτὸς ἀνάψαντες πυρκαϊὰν ἐν μέσῳ τῆς σούδας κατέφλεξαν ἅπαντα.

35. In this way Constantinople was enslaved. As the Turks were penetrating the area around Saint Romanos, the wretched Emperor Constantine, in the company of some noblemen, was inspecting the defense. The emperor and his company encountered a number of Turks and began to fight, as they did not deign to be captured. So they cut off the emperor's head and those of his attendants, since they did not realize that he was the emperor. Later the sovereign feared that if the emperor were alive and escaped he might bring an army from the lands of the Franks against him. After a thorough search for his remains, they found his head. Mamalis and the other noblemen recognized it and he relaxed.<sup>42</sup>

36. Who can describe the sovereign's joy, as he had become the lord of such an extraordinary city? After five days had passed, they began a search for the magnates, the grand duke, the grand domestic, and the *protostrator*, the son of the *mesazon* Kantakouzenos, along with a few other prominent individuals. He had them all beheaded. He slaughtered the sons of the grand duke in his presence and then he slaughtered him. The grand duke's youngest son, Isaakios, he sent to the seraglio; shortly thereafter, he escaped from the seraglio in Adrianople and vanished; later he came to his sister [Anna Notaras] in Rome, who had been sent there with a countless fortune by her father before the siege.<sup>43</sup> He [Mehmed] put them all to death in one day. All the bodies that were in the Gates, inside and outside, they collected in the middle of the moat and burned them.<sup>44</sup>

37. Ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ δὲ ἀπέκτεινε καὶ τὸν Χαλοῦλ πασιᾶ ἔχων αὐτὸν ἐν κακίᾳ, ὅπως ἐμήνυσε τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ καιρῷ τῶν Οὐγκρῶν καὶ ὅτι ἔσκωπτε αὐτὸν τοῦ πολιορκῆσαι τὴν Πόλιν λέγων αὐτῷ ὅτι θέλει γένηται ἀνακάτωμα ἐκ τῶν  
 5 Φραγκῶν καὶ ἐλθόντες ἐξέλωσιν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς Δύσεως· ὅμως ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν. Ἐγκαταστήσας δὲ τῇ Πόλει φύλακας καὶ καδδῆν ἐπορευθῆ ἐν Ἀδριανουπόλει μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ δόξης πολλῆς. Ἀοίκου δὲ οὔσης τῆς Πόλεως ὥρισεν ὅπως φέρωσι σεργούνιδες· ἔφερον γὰρ ἔκ τε Μηδείας καὶ τῶν χωρίων αὐτῆς·  
 10 ὑπέκυψαν γὰρ αὐτῷ ἅπαντα ἢ Μήδεια, ἢ Μεσήμβρια· καὶ ἅπαντες πλήθη ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ἔφερον αὐτοὺς ἔκ τε Σηλυβρείας καὶ Ἡρακλείας καὶ Ὀρεσιτιάδος καὶ Πανίδου, οἰκήσαντες αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ Πόλει, δόντες αὐτοῖς οἴκους οἴους ἃν ἤθελον.

38. Καὶ ἐλθὼν ὁ αὐθέντης πάλιν ἐν τῇ Πόλει ἤρξατο κτίζειν τὸ παλαιὸν σαράγιον. Εἶτα πορευθεὶς ἔλαβε τὴν Αἴνον, εἶτα τὴν Ἀθήναν, τὴν Θήβαν, τὴν Θάσον, τὴν Σαμοθράκην, τὸ Ἄργος (τὸ γὰρ Ἐξαμίλιον εἶχον αὐτὸ ἐκ παλαιοῦ καιροῦ),  
 5 τὴν Λῆμνον, τὴν Ἴμπρον, καὶ ἀπλῶς εἶπεῖν ἅπασαν τὴν Δύσιν ἄνευ τῆς Εὐρίπου· ἔφερον γὰρ ἅπαντας ἐν τῇ Πόλει ἀνδρας τε καὶ γυναῖκας.

39. Οὗτος ὁ ἀλιτήριος καὶ φθορεὺς τῶν Χριστιανῶν οὐκ ἐκάθισε γὰρ τὸ σύνολον εἰρηνεῦσαι κἂν ἔτος ἓν· ἔπειτα περαιωθείς ἐν τῇ Ἀνατολῇ μετὰ καὶ στόλου ἐκ θαλάττης καὶ στερεᾶς ἔλαβε τὴν Μυτιλήνην, τὰς δύο Φωκαίας ἄνευ πολέμου τινός· ὑπέ-  
 5 κυψαν γὰρ ἅπαντα· καὶ ἄρας πλήθη ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν ἔφερον μετὰ τῶν ἀρχηγῶν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Πόλει. Ἐπιστρέψας ἔλαβε καὶ τὴν Κασταμόνην καὶ τὴν Σινώπην ἐκ χειρὸς τοῦ Κυζιλ Ἀχουμάτη· ἔσχον γὰρ οἱ γονεῖς αὐτοῦ ταῦτα ἐκ τοῦ σουλτάν Ἀλατίν ὡσπερ κληρονομίαν· μαθὼν δὲ τὴν ἄφιξιν  
 10 τοῦ αὐθεντός ἐν τῇ Κασταμόνῃ φυγῶν ἐπορευθῆ ἐν τῷ Οὐζοῦν Χασάνῃ ἐν τῇ Περσίᾳ. Ἐλαβε δὲ καὶ ταῦτα ἀπονῆτι μετὰ

37. Shortly thereafter, he [Mehmed] also put Halil Pasha to death; he bore a grudge against him, because he had sent a message to his father in the time of the battle with the Hungarians; he had, in addition, not thought much of his plan to besiege the City, saying: "The Franks will get involved; they will march and expel us from the West." In any case, he put him to death.<sup>45</sup> Then he established a garrison and a *kadi* in the City and marched to Adrianople in joy and in great glory. As the City had no inhabitants, he ordered *sürgün* to be brought, who were imported from Medeia and its villages. For all had submitted to him, Medeia and Mesembria. Moreover, they brought them from Selybria, Herakleia, Orestias, and Panidos and settled these multitudes of men and women in the deserted City, giving them whatever houses they wanted.<sup>46</sup>

38. And the sovereign returned to the City and began the erection of the old seraglio. Then he marched and seized Ainos, Athens, Thebes, Thasos, Samothrake, Argos (for a long time now they had command of the Hexamilion), Lemnos, and Imbros; in short, the entire West, with the exception of Euripos. They brought them all, men and women, to the City.<sup>47</sup>

39. This rascal and murderer of Christians refused any rest; he did not have even one single year of peace. Then he crossed to Anatolia and with his fleet from the side of the sea and the army on land he seized Mytilene and the two cities called Phokaia without a fight; all surrendered. And he sent multitudes of men and women with their leaders to the City. On his way back, he seized Kastamone and Sinope from the hands of Kızıl Ahmed; his parents had these places as their inheritance from Sultan Alaeddin. When he [Kızıl Ahmed] he heard that the sovereign had reached Kastamone, he fled and came to Uzun Hasan in Persia. So he seized these places without trouble, and all of their



καὶ πασῶν τῶν χωρῶν αὐτῶν· ἡ γὰρ Ἀμαστρίς μόνη ἦν τῶν  
 Γενουβήτων· εἶχον γὰρ καὶ τὸν Καφᾶν· ἔλαβε γὰρ αὐτὸν μετὰ  
 τὴν τῆς Πόλεως ἄλωσιν ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ καιρῷ· ἔφερε γὰρ τὸν  
 15 λαὸν ἅπαντα ἐν τῇ Πόλει ἐάσας αὐτὴν ἄοικον, χαλάσας καὶ  
 τὰ τεῖχη αὐτῆς.

40. Ἐλθὼν δὲ πάλιν ἐν τῇ Πόλει ἠρώτησε περὶ πατριάρχου.  
 Ὅρισεν οὖν ὅπως ποιήσωσι πατριάρχην οἷον ἂν ἐκλέξωνται  
 ἐκ τοῦ μέσου αὐτῶν· ἐποίησε δὲ τοῦτο τεχνηέντως ὡς ἀλώπηξ  
 ὅπως ἀκούσαντες οἱ ἅπανταχοῦ ὄντες Χριστιανοὶ συνάζωνται  
 ἐν τῇ Πόλει. Ἐξελέξαντο οὖν τὸν φιλόσοφον κῦρ Γεώργιον  
 τὸν Σχολάριον κριτὴν ὄντα τῆς βασιλικῆς κρίσεως, ἄνδρα ἀγιώ-  
 τατον καὶ εὐλαβέστατον καὶ μὴ θέλοντα ποιήσαντες αὐτὸν πα-  
 τριάρχην· ὠνόμασαν αὐτὸν Γεννάδιον· ᾧ δέδωκεν ὁ αὐθέντης  
 ἰδίαις χερσὶ τὸ δεκανίκιον, ἀσμένως δὲ ὑποδεχθεὶς ἔσχεν αὐτὸν  
 φιλιῶς· δέδωκε δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν περιώνυμον ναὸν τῶν  
 Ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων εἰς πατριαρχεῖον. Ὅντος δὲ ἐκείσε τοῦ  
 πατριάρχου εὐρέθη τις πεφονευμένος μέσον τῆς αὐλῆς τοῦ ναοῦ·  
 ὅθεν φοβηθεὶς ὁ πατριάρχης καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ μήπως πάθωσι  
 καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ ὅμοια ἀνεχώρησαν ἐκεῖθεν καταλείψαντες τὸν  
 θαυμαστὸν ἐκεῖνον ναόν· ἦν γὰρ τῷ καιρῷ ἐκεῖνον ὁ τόπος ὁ  
 πέριξ τοῦ ναοῦ ἄοικος· οὐ γὰρ ἦσαν πλησίον οἱ γειτονοῦντες  
 τινές· ὑπῆρχε γὰρ ὁ ναὸς ἐκεῖνος ὃς νῦν ἐστὶν ἡμαρᾶτιον τοῦ  
 σουλτάν Μεχεμέτη ἐν τῷ νοτιαίῳ μέρει· ἴστανται γὰρ καὶ ἐκ  
 τῶν κτισμάτων αὐτοῦ ἕως τοῦ νῦν. Παρητήσαντο γὰρ τὰ ἐκεῖσε  
 καὶ αἰτήσαντες τὴν μονὴν τῆς Παμμακαρίστου ὅπως ἔχωσιν  
 αὐτὴν εἰς πατριαρχεῖον, δέδωκεν αὐτὴν ἐν ἐνὶ λόγῳ· ἤτησαντο  
 δὲ τὸν ναὸν αὐτὸν διὰ τὸ εἶναι οἰκούμενον τὸ μέρος ἐκεῖνο ἐκ  
 τῶν ὧνπερ ἔφερον χριστιανῶν σεργούνιδων ἐκ πασῶν τῶν  
 πόλεων.

lands. The only place left to the Genoese was Amastris. They  
 also had Caffa; but he seized it shortly after the fall of the City;  
 he left Caffa without inhabitants and destroyed its walls.<sup>48</sup>

40. When he [Mehmed] returned to the City he inquired about  
 a patriarch. He ordered them to elect a patriarch and select  
 whomever they wished from their own midst. He did this cun-  
 ningly, like a fox, so that the Christians everywhere would hear  
 about it and would return to the City. So they elected the philo-  
 sopher, Lord George Scholarios, who had been an imperial judge;  
 he was a most saintly individual and most pious; they elected  
 him even though he had been reluctant and he was given the  
 name Gennadios.<sup>49</sup> The sovereign gave him, with his own  
 hands, the crook and he received him in friendship and with  
 grace. He also gave him the famous church of the Holy Apostles  
 for his Patriarchate. While the patriarch was there, a murdered  
 man was found in the middle of the church's courtyard; so the  
 patriarch and his staff began to fear in case they, too, suffered  
 a similar fate; thus they departed from that famous church. At  
 that time the area around that church had no houses and there  
 were no neighbors in the vicinity. Nowadays this church is the  
 mosque of Sultan Mehmed in the southern part; sections of its  
 buildings still stand.<sup>50</sup> They left that region and asked for the  
 Convent of Pammakaristos to become the Patriarchate; he  
 granted it in one word. They asked for this church because its  
 neighborhood was inhabited by the Christians who had been  
 brought as *sürgün* from all cities.<sup>51</sup>

41. Ὅτε δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ ἀσθέντης ἐλθὼν ἐντὸς τοῦ παρακλησίου τοῦ ἐν τῷ σκευοφυλακείῳ διαλεχθεὶς μετὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου κυροῦ Γενναδίου ὑποδείξας τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν ἀνεπαισχύντως καὶ μετὰ παύσεως ὑποδείξας καθαρῶς τὸ μυστήριον τῆς Ἁγίας Τριάδος, καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸ ὁ σαρκωθεὶς ἐκ τῆς 5 πανάγου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, ὁ εἷς ἐστὶ τῆς Τριάδος ὁ υἱὸς καὶ λόγος τοῦ ἀγεννήτου πατρὸς, καὶ ὅπως ἀπέθανε καὶ ὅπως ἀνέστη καὶ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀθήηται (τοῦτο γὰρ σημαίνει τὸ ἐκ δεξιῶν), ἀναληφθεὶς τε εἰς οὐρανοὺς πάντων ὁρώντων, καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸς ἐστὶν ὁ μέλλων πάλιν ἔρχεσθαι τοῦ 10 κρῖνα ζῶντας καὶ νεκροῦς· καὶ ἕτερα μυστήρια ἐρωτήσας αὐτὸν ἀκριβῶς, εὐσεβῶς ταῦτα διεσάφησε· καὶ πληροφορηθεὶς κατὰ ἀκριβείαν ὅτι ἀληθὴς ἐστὶν ἡ πίστις τῶν χριστιανῶν καλῶς ἐθεώρει τὸ ἡμέτερον γένος· χαίρων γὰρ ἦν ὅτι τοιοῦτου γένους γέγονε ἀρχηγός, σοφῶν καὶ διδασκάλων.

42. Μέσον δὲ τοῦ καιροῦ ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ στρατεύει κατὰ Πελοποννήσου· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ δύο δεσπότες, ὅ τε Δημήτριος καὶ ὁ Θωμᾶς· μὴ δυνάμενοι δὲ ἀντιμαχήσασθαι αὐτῷ, ἔπεσαν εἰς συμβιβάσεις ὅπως δώσωσιν αὐτῷ χαράτζιον ἀνὰ δισχιλίων φλωρίων 5 ὁ καθεὶς κατ' ἔτος καὶ τὸ μέρος ὅσον ἐπεριπάτησεν ὁ ἵππος αὐτοῦ· δέδωκαν δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ Καλάβρυτα, τὴν Πάτραν, καὶ ἕτερα κάστρον καὶ χῶρας, καὶ ὑπέστρεψεν.

43. Εἶπωμεν καὶ τὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας. Ὁ γὰρ κύριος Γεννάδιος πατριαρχεύσας ἕτη πέντε ἢ καὶ πλεον, καλέσας σύνοδον ἀρχιερέων ἐποίησε παραίτησιν καὶ γέγονε πατριάρχης ὁ κύριος Ἰσίδωρος, ἀγιώτατος πνευματικὸς πατὴρ πάσης τῆς πόλεως. Τε 5 λευτήσαντος οὖν ἐκείνου γέγονεν ὁ Ἰωάσαφ οὗ τὸ ἐπίκλητον Κόκας· μὴ δυνηθεὶς γὰρ τὰ τῶν κληρικῶν καθ' ἑκάστην γενόμενα σκάνδαλα, πεσὼν ἐν φρέατι, ἐξέβαλον αὐτὸν ἡμίθνητον. Ὁ δὲ κύριος Γεννάδιος ἀναχωρήσας τῆς Πόλεως καὶ τῶν σκανδάλων πάντων ἀνήλθεν ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ Τιμίου Προδρομοῦ 10 πλησίον Σεβέρων, κακεὶ ἐτελεύτησεν.

41. The sovereign himself came to a small annex, to the storehouse of the church, and conversed with the patriarch, Lord Gennadios, who, without hesitation or reservation, revealed the truth of our faith and clearly demonstrated the sacred nature of the Holy Trinity; he instructed him about the only Son of the Trinity and Word of the unborn Father, who was incarnated through the all-holy, eternal virgin, Mary; how He died and was resurrected, assuming His place in the glory of the Father (i.e., to His right), after His assumption to Heaven in plain sight; how He would return once more to judge the living and the dead. He [Mehmed] also asked specific questions about other sacred matters and the patriarch piously answered to his satisfaction. Once he had been informed in detail about the truth of the Christian faith, he turned a kind eye upon our race. He was glad that he had become the ruler of a race of scholars and teachers.<sup>52</sup>

42. In the midst of the all this he [Mehmed] marched against the Peloponnesos; as the two despots, Demetrios and Thomas, were unable to fight against him, they agreed to pay annual *harac* to him, up to two thousand florins each, and they also ceded the territory that his horse had trod. So they gave him Kalavryta, Patras, and other cities and regions and he departed.<sup>53</sup>

43. Let me give an account of the ecclesiastical matters also. After Lord Gennadios had been patriarch for five years or more, he called a synod of the hierarchs and resigned. Lord Isidoros,<sup>54</sup> a very saintly man and the spiritual father of the entire City, became patriarch. After he died, Lord Ioasaph,<sup>55</sup> also called Kokas, became patriarch; because he was unable to endure the daily scandals of the officials, he fell into a well and was pulled out half dead. But Lord Gennadios left the City and all the scandals and went to the monastery of the Honorable Forerunner [Prodomos] near Serres, where he died.<sup>56</sup>

44. Μαθῶν γὰρ ὁ αὐθέντης ὡς καὶ οἱ δύο δεσπότες οὐ συμβι-  
 βάζονται ἀλλὰ καθ' ἐκάστην ἔχουσι σκάνδαλα, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ  
 χαράτζιον δοῦναι ὅπερ ὑπέσχοντο, διεμηνύσατο γὰρ καὶ ὁ κῦρ  
 Δημήτριος ὡς καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ κῦρ Θωμᾶς οὐκ ἴσταται  
 5 εἰς τὰς συμβιβάσεις ἄσπερ εἶχομεν μετὰ τοῦ αὐθεντός, ἀλλ'  
 ἐπὶ ῥήσεν χώρας καὶ κάστρον, ὑποκύψαντες αὐτῷ ἢ τε Πα-  
 λαῖα Πάτρα καὶ τὰ Καλάβρυτα καὶ ἕτερα ἄπερ δεδώκαμεν  
 πρὸς σέ, καὶ οὐ μόνον ἐκεῖνα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν χωρῶν ἀρ-  
 πάζων οὐ παύεται· ἐλθέ οὖν καὶ λάβε τὸν τόπον ἡμῶν, ὅπως  
 10 εἰρηνεύσης ἡμᾶς. Ταῦτα οὖν ἐμηνύσατο ὁ δεσπότης πρὸς τὸν  
 σουλτάν Μεχεμέτην· ὁ δὲ θυμῷ πλησθεὶς ὤρμησεν εὐθύς κατὰ  
 Πελοποννήσου.

45. Ἦν δὲ ὁ τοῦ δεσπότητος γυναικάδελφος Ματθαῖος ὁ Ἀσά-  
 νης, εὐρεθεὶς ἐν Κορίνθῳ καὶ οὐκ ἔχων ὅτι καὶ δράσειεν, καὶ  
 ἄκων προσεκύνησε καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτῷ τὸ θαυμαστὸν ἐκεῖνο  
 πολίχινον· ἄρας δὲ τὸν Ἀσάν καὶ τοὺς μετ' αὐτὸν στρατιώτας  
 5 ἐπορεύθη ὅπου ἦν ὁ δεσπότης ἐν τῷ Μιζιθραῖ. Τί γὰρ εἶχεν  
 ποιῆσαι ὁ ταλαίπωρος δεσπότης, ἐπειδὴ αὐτὸς διεμηνύσατον  
 αὐτὸν; αἰτήσας οὖν τινα ζητήματα παρὰ τοῦ αὐθεντός, ὅπως  
 λάβῃ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ εἰς γυναῖκα καὶ ἵνα δώσῃ καὶ αὐτῷ  
 τὰ πρὸς διατροφὴν καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ οὔσι, ἔστερξε οὖν ὅσα  
 10 ἠτήσατο· τὴν γὰρ θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ ἀρβραβωνήσας αὐτὴν κατὰ  
 τὴν τάξιν τοῦ σεβάσματος αὐτῶν, καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτοῖς  
 εὐνοῦχοις μετὰ δορυφορίας ὅτι πλείστῃς ἕως Ἀδριανουπόλεως,  
 ἀλλ' οὐκ συνέγενετο μετ' αὐτῆς ὄλως φοβούμενος μήπως γέ-  
 νηται ἐξ αὐτῆς φαρμακεία ἢ τις δόλος· ὑποπτος γὰρ ὢν οὐκ  
 15 ἠθέλησε γενέσθαι αὐτῇ.

44. Then the sovereign discovered that the two despots could  
 not agree with each other but that there were daily scandals  
 (they did not even give the *harac* that they had promised); he  
 received a letter from Lord Demetrios: "My brother, Lord  
 Thomas, has violated the agreement that we had with the  
 sovereign: he has attacked regions and cities. Old Patras and  
 Kalavryta have paid homage to him and others, which we granted  
 to you; he has taken not only these but other lands that belong  
 to me and he will not cease from seizing. So come and take over  
 our area, in order to make peace between us." Such was the  
 message of the despot to Sultan Mehmed. He was filled with  
 anger and, without delay, attacked the Peloponnesos.

45. The brother of the despot's wife, Matthaios Asan, was in  
 Corinth and, as there was nothing else for him to do, he sub-  
 mitted unwillingly and surrendered to him that famous town.  
 So he took Asan and his soldiers with him and marched to the  
 residence of the despot, Mistra.<sup>57</sup> What could the wretched  
 despot do? After all, he had sent him the message. He presented  
 the sovereign with a petition in regard to certain matters: he  
 asked him to take his daughter for his wife and to be granted  
 living expenses for himself and for his retinue; he [Mehmed]  
 consented. The daughter was engaged to him, in accordance  
 with the demands of their faith. He assigned to them eunuchs  
 with a very large body-guard to escort them to Adrianople. Yet  
 he did not sleep with her, as he feared greatly that she would  
 poison him or plot against him; being suspicious, he had no  
 wish to sleep with her.<sup>58</sup>

46. Ἐφερον δὲ ἅπαντας ἐν τῇ Ἀδριανουπόλει, τὸν τε δεσπότην καὶ τὴν βασιλισσαν τὴν αὐτοῦ γαμετὴν· ἦν γὰρ θυγάτηρ κυροῦ Παύλου τοῦ Ἀσάν· προὔπηρχε γὰρ τεθνηκώς, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Ματθαῖος Ἀσάν ἔσχε γυναῖκα τὴν τοῦ Εὐδαίμονος Ἰωάννου θυγατέρα. Ἐφερον δὲ ἅπαντας ἄρχοντας τοὺς τοῦ δεσπότητος μικροὺς τε καὶ μεγάλους· ἦλθον γὰρ ἄρχοντες ἐν τῇ Ἀδριανουπόλει· οὐ γὰρ εἶχον τί ζωοτροφεῖσθαι.

47. Ὁ δὲ κύριος Θωμᾶς ὁ δεσπότης μαθὼν τὴν ἄφιξιν τοῦ αὐθεντοῦ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι τοῖς Πελοποννήσου φυγὼν ἐπορεύθη ἐν Ῥώμῃ μετὰ γυναικὸς καὶ τῶν δύο υἱῶν αὐτοῦ Ἀνδρέου καὶ Μανουὴλ καὶ ἀρχόντων μερικῶν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων αὐτοῦ· ἀσμένως δὲ ὑπεδέξαντο αὐτὸν οἱ Λατῖνοι ποιήσαντες αὐτῷ σιτηρέσια μετὰ τῶν δύο υἱῶν αὐτοῦ, πλὴν ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἐτελεύτησεν· ἔσχεν γὰρ καὶ θυγατέρας δύο· καὶ ἡ μὲν μία ἦν ἐν τῇ Σερβίᾳ πρὸς τὸν κράλην, ἡ δὲ ἑτέρα ἦν ἐν τῇ Ρουσία πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Μοσχόβου αὐθέντην. Ἡ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Σερβίᾳ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ ἔσχε θυγατέρα καὶ δέδωκεν αὐτὴν πρὸς τὸν τῆς Μπόσνιας κράλην, ἣν ὕστερον πορευθεὶς ὁ σουλτάν Μεχεμέτης ἔλαβε κυριεύσας τὴν Μπόσνιαν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν περιοχὴν αὐτῆς· καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς ἀπέκτεινε, τὴν δὲ κράλητζαν ἔφερον ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ποιήσας αὐτῇ σιτηρέσιον ἕως τέλους ζωῆς αὐτῆς. Ἐχουσα δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ κράλητζα τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς ἀδελφὴν τὴν κυρὰν Μάραν, ἣ ὑπῆρχε γυνὴ τοῦ σουλτάν Μουράτη, μητέρα οὖσα τοῦ σουλτάν Μεχεμέτη, δέδωκε δὲ αὐτῇ χώρας ὅτι πλείστας εἰς διατροφήν ἐγγὺς τῶν Σεβέρων, τὴν τε Ἐζοβάν καὶ τὰ πλησιάζοντα χωρία, ζῶν ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ ἡ βασίλισσα μέχρι τέλους ζωῆς αὐτῆς.

46. So they brought them all to Adrianople: the despot and his wife, the queen. She was the daughter of Lord Paulos Asan; he had died earlier and his son, Matthaïos Asan, had married the daughter of Eudaimon John. They brought all the noblemen of the despot, both the lesser and the greater. The noblemen came to Adrianople because they had no way of providing for themselves.

47. Learning that the sovereign had come to the mountains of the Peloponnesos, Lord Thomas fled and went to Rome together with his wife, his two sons, Andreas and Manuel, and some of his nobles. The Latins received him gladly and granted him and his two sons a pension; shortly thereafter, he died.<sup>59</sup> He also had two daughters: one was in Serbia with the *kral* and the other was in Russia with the sovereign of Moscow.<sup>60</sup> His daughter in Serbia had a daughter, whom they gave to the *kral* of Bosnia; later, Sultan Mehmed marched and took over Bosnia and all its territory.<sup>61</sup> He put her husband to death and brought her, the wife of the *kral*, to Constantinople, granting her a pension for life. The sister of the father of the *kral*'s wife was Lady Mara, who had been the wife of Sultan Murad; since she was the mother of Sultan Mehmed, she had been given very large territories for her expenses near Serres, Ezoban and the neighboring villages. So the queen enjoyed a comfortable life until her death.

48. Τοῦ γὰρ δεσπότης κύρ Θωμᾶ ὡς προέφημεν ὑπῆρχον δύο υἱοί· ὁ νεώτερος οὖν υἱὸς αὐτοῦ Μανουὴλ ἀποδράσας ἐκ Ῥώμης ἤλθεν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, πλανήσαντες αὐτὸν ὁ τε Μαγκαφᾶς καὶ Κόντος καὶ Νικόλαος, ὄντες οἰκεῖοι αὐτοῦ·  
 5 καὶ οἷα νέος ὢν, ἤκουσε τοὺς λόγους αὐτῶν, ὡς ὁ αὐθέντης, ἔαν πορευθῶμεν ἐν τῇ Πόλει, ἐν πολλῇ τιμῇ ποιήσει σε ὡς ὅτι οὐκ ἀπέμεινας ἐν τῇ Φραγγίᾳ. Ἀπατήσαντες οὖν αὐτὸν ἔφερον ἐν τῇ Πόλει· ὅθεν ὁ αὐθέντης χαριέντως αὐτὸν ὑποδεξάμενος, δέδωκεν αὐτῷ χώρας εἰς διατροφήν τὸ Σιρέτζιον καὶ  
 10 τὸ Ἀμπελίτζιον καὶ ἕτερα χωρία δύο, καὶ ῥόγαν ἐξέχως ἀνά ἄσπρα ἑκατὸν τὴν καθ' ἡμέραν, δοὺς αὐτῷ καὶ δούλας δύο· ἐποίησε δὲ ἐξ αὐτῶν δύο υἱούς· καὶ τὸν μὲν ὠνόμασεν Ἰωάννην Παλαιολόγον τὸν δὲ ἕτερον Ἀνδρέαν. Ἐξῆ δὲ καλῶς μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ ἀρχόντων οὐκ ὀλίγων ὄντων μετ' αὐτοῦ· ἀλλ' οὖν  
 15 δέδωκεν καὶ αὐτὸς τὸ κοινὸν χρέος ταφείς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τοῦ Σιρετζίου ἐν τῷ ναοῦ, ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ ἀνεψία αὐτοῦ ἡ κράλητζα. Ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ δὲ μετὰ τὸ ἀποθανεῖν τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν, βασιλεύσας ὁ σουλτάν Σελίμης ἔλαβεν Ἀνδρέαν τὸν ὑστερον υἱὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔβαλεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ σαραγίῳ ποιήσας αὐτὸν  
 20 Ἰσμαηλίτην, ὀνομάσας αὐτὸν Μεχεμέτην· ὁ δὲ ἕτερος υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ὁ Ἰωάννης περιπεσὼν ἐν νόσῳ ἀνιάτῳ ἐτελεύτησεν ταφείς ἐν τῇ Παμμακαρίστῳ.

49. Ὁ δὲ δεσπότης Δημήτριος ὢν ἐν τῇ Ἀδριανουπόλει δέδωκεν αὐτῷ ὁ αὐθέντης τὴν τῆς Αἴνου ἀλυκὴν τὴν ἡμισυ, ἕξῃ δὲ ἐν σπατάλῃ καὶ τιμῇ καὶ κυνηγεσίοις, πλέον ἢ ἐν τῇ Πελοποννήσῳ. Ὁ δὲ Ματθαῖος ὁ Ἀσάν ἐπορευέτο μετὰ τοῦ αὐθεν-  
 5 τὸς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις· ἦν γὰρ οὗτος φρονιμώτατος λίαν. Φθονήσας γὰρ ὁ ἐχθρὸς διάβολος ἐμβάλλει λογισμὸν ἐν τοῖς Ἀμαλδαρίοις τοῖς κρατήσασι τότε τὴν ἀλυκὴν ὡς ἵνα κλέψωσιν ἄσπρα ἐκ τῆς ἀλυκῆς· εἶπον οὖν τὴν βουλὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀσάνην· ὁ δὲ ἀναισχυντήσας ἀπεδίωξεν αὐτούς, μηδὲ ὀλίως παραδεξάμενος τὸν

48. The despot, Lord Thomas, had two sons, as we have already mentioned; his younger son, Manuel, ran away from Rome and came to Constantinople. He had been led astray by Mangaphas, Kontos, and Nicholas, who were his friends. Being young, he listened to their words: "If we go to the City, the sovereign will honor you greatly because you did not remain in the lands of the Franks." So they led him astray and brought him to the City. The sovereign received him with grace and granted him lands for his expenses: Siretzion and Ampelitzion and another two villages; in addition, he granted him a military salary of one hundred aspers daily. He also gave him two women as his slaves. He had from them two sons. One he named John Palaiologos and the other Andreas. He had a good life with honor and a retinue of numerous noblemen. But he, too, paid the common debt and was buried in the region of Siretzion inside the church, like his niece, the wife of the *kral*.<sup>62</sup> Shortly after his death, Sultan Selim who was emperor took Andreas, his [Manuel's] younger son, to the seraglio and turned him into an Ismaelite with the name Mehmed. His other son, John, fell victim to an incurable disease, died and was buried in the [monastery of] Pammakaristos.<sup>63</sup>

49. Despot Demetrios was at Adrianople; the sovereign gave him half of the salt-pans of Ainos; he wasted his time in extravagance, pomp, and hunting, even more so than when he was in the Peloponnesos. Matthaios Asan went with the sovereign to the wars; he was a very sensible individual. But the devil, our enemy, in his evil, put it to the mind of the Amaldarians, who were at that time working in the salt-pans, to steal *aspers* from the pans. They communicated their intention to Asan; he indignantly dismissed them, being unwilling to listen to one word.

10 λόγον αὐτῶν· πορευθεὶς οὖν ἐπαρήγγειλε τὸν δεσπότην ὅτι, ἂν σοι εἴπωσιν οἱ Ἀμαλδάριοι τὸν λόγον ὄνπερ εἶπον καὶ ἐμοί, μὴ ἀκούσης αὐτῶν· ὅτι ἂν βουλευθῆς ποιῆσαι ὡς λέγουσι, μέλλομεν ἐμπεσεῖν ἐν κινδύνῳ μεγάλῳ· ὃ καὶ γέγονεν. Ὁ γὰρ Ἀσάν ἐπορεύθη μετὰ τοῦ αὐθεντοῦ ἐν τῇ Μποσνίᾳ οὐ πολὺ

15 τὸ ἐν μέσῳ· ἅμα γὰρ τοῦ ἐξελθεῖν τὸν Ἀσάν, πορευθέντες οἱ Ἀμαλδαρεοὶ ἐπλάνησαν αὐτόν, καὶ ἔστειραν ὅπως κλέψωσι τὰ ἄσπρα. Ὅρα γὰρ γινώσκεις δούλου καὶ αὐθεντοῦ. Οὕτως ἐποίησεν ὁ ἀσύνετος δεσπότης. Ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ δὲ ἐλθὼν ὁ αὐθέντης ἐκ τῆς Μποσνίας ἠκούσθη ὅτι οἱ Ἀμαλδαρεοὶ ἐκλεψάν ἄσπρα

20 ἐκ τῆς ἀλυκῆς· δέδωκε δὲ αὐτοῖς σκάκους καὶ ὠμολόγησαν ὅτι καὶ μετὰ βουλῆς τοῦ δεσπότη ἐκλέψαμεν μοιράσαντες αὐτὰ ὁμοῦ· Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ αὐθέντης ἠβουλήθη ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτόν, εἰ μὴ ὁ Μαχομοῦτ πασιᾶς ἔσκοφε τοῦ μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτόν. Ἐκράτησεν οὖν τὴν ἀλυκὴν καὶ εἶτι ἄλλο εἰσόδημα. Οἱ γὰρ

25 ἄρχοντες οἱ ὄντες μετ' αὐτοῦ ἐπορεύθησαν ἕκαστος, ὁ μὲν ἔνθεν, ὁ δὲ ἔνθεν· οὐ γὰρ εἶχον τι εἰς διατροφὴν. Καθήμενος δὲ ὁ ταλαίπωρος ἐν Ἀδριανουπόλει ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν τοῦ μὴ ἱπεῦσαι ὄλωσ. Ὁ δὲ Ἀσάν ἐλθὼν ἐκ τῆς Μποσνίας καὶ ἀκούσας τὸ δρᾶμα, ἐκ τῆς χολῆς πεσὼν ἐν ἀσθνεῖᾳ ἐτελεύτησεν· ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ δὲ ἀπέθανε καὶ ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτοῦ. Ὁλίγου δὲ

30 καιροῦ παρελθόντος ὑποστρέψας ὁ αὐθέντης ἦλθεν ἐν Ἀδριανουπόλει καὶ ἐξελθὼν ὁ ταλαίπωρος πεζοπορῶν ὑπήντησεν αὐτόν· ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτόν ἐλέησεν αὐτόν· ὥρισεν γοῦν καὶ δέδωκεν πρὸς αὐτόν ἵππον ἐκ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν καὶ ἐκαθέσθη περιπατῶν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ· δέδωκε δὲ καὶ σιτηρέσιον μερικὸν εἰς δια-

35 τροφὴν μόνον. Ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ δὲ ἐτελεύτησε καὶ ἡ βασιλισσα καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ δεσπότης ἐν τῇ Ἀδριανουπόλει· τῆς δὲ θυγατρὸς αὐτοῦ τὰ εἶδη ἐδόθησαν ἐν τῷ πατριαρχεῖῳ, ἐξ ὧν ἐστὶ καὶ ὁ σάκκος ὁ ἀρχαῖος ἕως τοῦ νῦν· ταφέντες ἅπαντες ἐν Ἀδριανουπόλει.

Then he went to the despot and said: "If the Amaldarians mention the same plan to you, do not accept their plan; if you agree to their plan, we will be in grave danger." This came to pass. For Asan left with the sovereign to march to Bosnia shortly thereafter. As soon as Asan had departed, the Amaldarians came and led him astray; he agreed to steal the *aspers*. Marvel at the sense of slave and master! So the senseless despot consented. Shortly thereafter, the sovereign returned and it was whispered that the Amaldarians had stolen *aspers* from the salt-pans. Under torture, they confessed: "With the approval of the despot, we stole the *aspers* and shared them together." When the sovereign heard this, his immediate wish was to put the despot to death; he would have done so, if Mahmud Pasha had not persuaded him to spare him.<sup>64</sup> But he took away the salt-pans and withheld all other income from him. Each of his noblemen left him and went his separate way, as they did not have the means to support themselves. The wretched man remained in Adrianople and was not allowed to ride a horse any more. When Asan returned from Bosnia and was informed of these events, he fell ill, on account of sadness, and died. Soon afterwards, his daughter died also. After a short time had passed, the sovereign returned to Adrianople. The wretched man [the despot] went on foot to greet him. When he saw him, he felt pity and he ordered his men to give him one of the most valuable horses. He mounted and rode ahead of him. He also gave him a pension that was barely sufficient for his livelihood. Shortly afterwards the queen and the despot himself died. His daughter's belongings were given to the Patriarchate; among them was the ancient *sakkos* that still exists. They were buried in Adrianople.<sup>65</sup>

50. Ἐν δὲ τῇ πατριαρχείᾳ τοῦ Ἰωάσαφ ἐπορεύθη ὁ αὐθέντης ὁ σουλτᾶν Μεχεμέτης κατὰ τῆς Τραπεζοῦντας μετὰ δυνάμεως πλείστης ἐκ τε γῆς καὶ θαλάττης πλήθους ἀναριθμήτου. Βασιλεύων γὰρ ἦν ὁ κύρις Δαβίδ ὀρμώμενος ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν Κομνηνῶν. Ὡς γὰρ τὴν ἀθρόαν ἔλευσιν εἶδε καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ τοσοῦτου λαοῦ, οὐκ ἔχων τι διαπράξασθαι καὶ ἄκων προσεκύνησεν· ἐζήτησεν οὖν τινα, ὅπως λάβῃ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ εἰς γυναῖκα· καὶ ὑπέσχετο λαβεῖν αὐτήν. Ἔσχε γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἐτέραν θυγατέρα, τὴν δέσποινα Χάτου, ἔχουσα τὸν Οὐζοῦν Χασάν ἐν τῷ Τευρίτζι, ἔχουσαν μετ' αὐτοῦ υἱοὺς τρεῖς. Ἦλπιζε γὰρ τοῦ εὐρεῖν βοήθειαν ἐξ αὐτοῦ· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἠδυνήθη βοηθῆσαι αὐτῷ τὸ σύνολον, φοβούμενος μήπως πορευθῆ κατ' αὐτοῦ· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ φόβου ἔστειλε πρέσβυν τὴν μητέρα πρὸς τὸν αὐθέντην μετὰ δώρων πολλῶν· προῦπαντήσας αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ φήσασα οὕτως· γνωστὸν ἔστω τῇ σῇ βασιλείᾳ ὅτι οὐκ εἰμι ἐναντίος σοι, ἀλλὰ πορευθεὶς ποίησον ὡς βούλη. Ἀποδεξάμενος δὲ αὐτὴν ἀσμένως καὶ φιλοφρονήσας ἀπέστειλεν οἴκαδε. Ἐζήτησε δὲ ὁ ταλαίπωρος βασιλεὺς ὅπως δώῃ αὐτῷ τόπον εἰς διατροφήν καὶ τοῖς οὖσι μετ' αὐτοῦ· ἔστρεψε δὲ καὶ αὐτό· καὶ ἀπέστειλε τὰς κλεῖς τοῦ κάστρου πρὸς αὐτόν. Ἐκυρίευσεν δὲ τὴν τοσαύτην ἐπαρχίαν ἀπονητὴ χωρὶς πολέμου τιδὸς ἀπὸ Ἀμισοῦντος ἕως τῶν ὀρίων Ἰβηρίας κάστρων καὶ χωρῶν.

50. While Ioasaph was patriarch, the sovereign, Sultan Mehmed, attacked Trebizond by sea and land with a large force consisting of a countless multitude.<sup>66</sup> The emperor was Lord David, a descendant of the Komnenos family. When he saw the arrival of the multitude, he realized that there was nothing that he could do and submitted. He asked for a few things: that he [Mehmed] should take his daughter for his wife. He consented. The same emperor had another daughter, Lady Hatun, who had been married to Uzun Hasan in Tabriz; she had three sons by him.<sup>67</sup> He [David] had hoped to receive some aid from him. He [Uzun Hasan] proved unable to render any assistance, as he was afraid that he would be attacked also. On account of this fear, he sent his mother as an ambassador to the sovereign with many gifts. He [Mehmed] met her on the road and she spoke as follows: "Let it be known to Your Majesty that I do not oppose you; march and accomplish whatever you wish." He received her with joy, entertained her, and sent her home. The wretched emperor asked him to grant him another place for his sustenance and for that of his retinue; he agreed to this. He [David] sent the keys to the city to him. So he conquered such a large territory without trouble and without war, from Amisous all the way to the borders of Iberia's cities and regions.<sup>68</sup>

51. Ἐποίησε δὲ τὸν λαὸν τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος εἰς μοῖρας τρεῖς· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἐν μέρος ἔλαβον αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ μεγιστᾶνες αὐτοῦ, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἔφερε σεργούνιδες ἐν τῇ Πόλει, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο μέρος ἀφῆκεν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ κάστρει οἰκεῖν οὐκ ἔσω ἀλλ' ἔξω τῶν τειχῶν. Τὸν βασιλέα δὲ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀναβιβάσας ἐν πλοίοις ἔφερον ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, τὸν τε Καβαζήτην καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν γενεάν αὐτοῦ, τὸν μέγα μεσάζοντα, τὸν Ἀλταμούριον, τὸν φιλόσοφον Ἀμοιρούτζην, τὸν πρωτοβεστιάριον. Οὗτος οὖν ὁ πρωτοβεστιάριος ὑπῆρχεν ἔγγονος τοῦ Ἰάγαρη, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ Μαχουμουτ πασιᾶς ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης θυγατρὸς τοῦ Ἰαγάρη τῆς οὔσης ἐν Σερβίᾳ· ὑπῆρχον οὖν πρωτεξιδέλφοι. Καὶ μετὰ δόλου καὶ ἀπάτης αὐτοῦ τοῦ πρωτοβεστιαρίου ἐπορευθῆ ὁ αὐθέντης ἐν τῇ Τραπεζοῦντα· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἔπεισε καὶ τὸν ταλαίπωρον βασιλέα καὶ προσεκύνησε. Ἦν γὰρ ὁ βασιλεὺς οὗτος νωθρὸς καὶ ἀνανδρὸς καὶ οὐχ ἰκανὸς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν. Εὖρε γὰρ ὁ πρωτοβεστιάριος τιμὴν ὅτι καὶ πλείστην ἐκ τε τοῦ αὐθεντοῦ καὶ τοῦ πασιᾶ· ἦν γὰρ ὠραῖος καὶ ἀνδρείος ἐν τε μεγέθει σώματος καὶ ἐπιτηδειότητι· τοξευτῆς γὰρ ἦν ὡς οὐδεὶς ἄλλος ἐκ τοῦ αὐθεντικοῦ φουσάτου. Τοὺς γὰρ υἱοὺς τοῦ Ἀμοιρούτζη ἔβαλεν ἐν τῷ σαραγίῳ, τὸν δὲ Ἀμοιρούτζη ὕστερον ἐποίησεν αὐτὸν Ἰσμαηλίτην.

52. Τὸν βασιλέα δὲ δέδωκεν αὐτῷ χώρας εἰς διατροφήν πλησίον Σεβρών· τὴν δὲ θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ ἦν ὑπέσχετο λαβεῖν εἰς γυναῖκα οὐκ ἔλαβεν αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ἔδωκεν αὐτήν πρὸς τὸν χότζαν αὐτοῦ· καὶ πολλὰ μοχθήσας τοῦ ἐκβαλεῖν ἐκ τῆς πίστεως τοῦ Χριστοῦ οὐκ ἠδυνήθη τοῦ ἐλκύσαι αὐτήν, ὅμως ἀπέλυσεν αὐτήν· εἶχε γὰρ σιτηρέσιον μέχρι τέλους ζωῆς. Ὑστερον δὲ γεναμένης μάχης μετὰ τοῦ Οὐζοῦν Χασάνη, μέλων πορευθῆναι κατ' αὐτοῦ ἀποστείλας ἀπέκτεινε τὸν ταλαίπωρον βασιλέα· οὐ γὰρ οἶδαμεν τίς ἦν ἡ αἰτία.

51. He [Mehmed] divided the people of Trebizond into three sections: one part he and his magnates received, the second he brought to the City as *sürgün*, and the third he allowed to remain and live outside the walls and not within the city. He placed the emperor and all the noblemen in a ship and brought them to Constantinople: Kabazetes and his entire family, the grand *mesazon*, Altamourios, and the *protovestiaros*, the philosopher Amoiroutzes.<sup>69</sup> This *protovestiaros* was the grandson of Iagares, like Mahmud Pasha, from another daughter of Iagares who was in Serbia. Thus they were first cousins. The sovereign had marched to Trebizond with the deception and the plot put together by this *protovestiaros* who persuaded the wretched emperor to submit.<sup>70</sup> This emperor was lazy, cowardly, and unfit to be emperor. The *protovestiaros* was greatly honored by the sovereign and the pasha. He was handsome and brave; he was muscular and possessed skills; for no one from the sovereign's army could compete with him in archery. He placed the sons of Amoiroutzes in the seraglio; later he turned Amoiroutzes himself into an Ismaelite also.<sup>71</sup>

52. He gave to the emperor [David] the regions near Serres for his residence. His daughter, whom he had promised to marry, he did not marry but gave her to a *hoca* of his; he exerted many efforts to make her give up her faith in Christ but he did not succeed. So he let her go; she had a pension until the end of her life. Later during the war with Uzun Hasan, when he was about to march against him, he sent the executioners and put the wretched emperor [David] to death: We do not know the reason for this.<sup>72</sup>



53. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς καιροῖς ἐκείνοις ἐξεβλήθη ἐκ τοῦ πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου ὁ Ἰωάσαφ· ἀπέκοψε γὰρ ὁ αὐθέντης τὴν αὐτοῦ πολιάν· τὸν δὲ μέγα ἐκκλησιάρχην ἔσχιεν ἐκ τῶν δύο μερῶν τὴν ῥίνα αὐτοῦ ἕνεκα τοῦ πρωτοβεστιαρίου· οὗτος γὰρ ἔσχε γυναῖκα νόμιμον ἔχων καὶ παῖδας μετ' αὐτῆς. Ὁ γὰρ αὐθέντης πορευθεὶς πρὸ καιροῦ ἔλαβε τὴν Ἀθήναν· τὸν γὰρ τῆς Ἀθήνας ἄρχοντα ἀποκτείνας, τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ παῖδας ἔφερεν ἐν Ἀδριαπόλει. Ἡ γὰρ ἦν γυνὴ θυγάτηρ Δημητρίου τοῦ Ἀσάν. Ἰδὼν δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ πρωτοβεστιάριος ἐτρόθη τῷ αὐτῆς ἔρωτι καὶ ἤθελεν λαβεῖν αὐτὴν εἰς γυναῖκα· παρεκάλει οὖν διὰ γραφῶν τὸν πατριάρχην ὅπως συγχωρήσας λάβῃ αὐτήν. Ὡς δὲ οὐ κατένευσε ποιῆσαι αὐτὸ φανεραῶς οὔσης μοιχοζευξίας, ὡς καὶ κατοβωώσης τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, ὠργίσθη ὁ πασιᾶς τὸν τε πατριάρχην καὶ τὸν μέγα ἐκκλησιάρχην ὡς οὐκ ἤκουσαν τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτοὺς ὡς προείπομεν. Ἐλαβε γὰρ αὐτὴν παρανόμως μοιχεύων. Ἡ γὰρ ἀδικία οὐκ εἶασεν αὐτὸν εἰς μακράν· ἐν μιᾷ οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων παίζων ζάρια ἀπλώσας τὴν χεῖρα τοῦ λαβεῖν καὶ ῥίψαι αὐτά, ἀπέφυξε καὶ ἄωρος ἐτελεύτησε παραπεμφθεὶς τῷ αἰωνίῳ πυρὶ.

54. Ἀνήλθε δὲ εἰς τὸν πατριαρχικὸν θρόνον ὁ κύριος Μάρκος ὁ Ξυλοκαράβις Κωνσταντινουπολίτης καὶ μέτοχος λόγου. Ποιήσας οὖν καιρὸν ὀλίγον ἐν τῷ πατριαρχείῳ, ἀνεφύησαν σκάνδαλα οὐκ ὀλίγα ἐκ τῶν κληρικῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἠγάπουν αὐτόν.

5 Ἦν δὲ τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ τις ἱερομόναχος ὀνόματι Συμεὼν ὀρμώμενος ἐκ Τραπεζούντας, χρησιμώτατος πάνυ ὡς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς καὶ φιλόξενος. Οἱ γὰρ Τραπεζούντιοι ἤθελον τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτὸν πατριάρχην· ἔσχον γὰρ υἱοὺς ἐντὸς τοῦ σαραγίου καὶ ἐκτὸς ἐν ἀξιώμασι πλείστοις καὶ τιμαῖς μεγίσταις· καὶ δεξιω-

10 θέντες τοῖς κληρικοῖς κακῶς διέκειντο μετὰ τοῦ πατριάρχου συκοφαντοῦντες αὐτόν καὶ λέγοντες ὅτι ἐποίησε προσθήκην ὅπως δῶη πεσκέσιον φλωρία χιλία· οὐ γὰρ ἐδίδον τι οὔτε

53. At that time [Patriarch] Ioasaph was expelled from the patriarchal throne. The sovereign cut his beard off. He also slit, on both sides, the nose of the grand ecclesiarch, on account of the *protovestiaros*. This man [Protovestiaros Amoiroutzes] had a lawful wife, with whom he had children. Some time ago the sovereign had marched and seized Athens.<sup>73</sup> He killed the lord of Athens but he brought his wife and children to Adrianople; the wife was the daughter of Demetrios Asan. When the *protovestiaros* saw her, he fell in love with her and wanted to marry her; he asked the patriarch in letters to allow him to take her as his wife. He did not consent, as it would be open adultery and because his wife was verbally condemning it. So the pasha became angry with the patriarch and the grand ecclesiarch, because they failed to listen to him, and treated them in the manner that I described above. He [Amoiroutzes] took her illegally and lived in adultery. But the injustice did not allow him to live long; one day, while he was playing dice with the noblemen and was stretching his hand to take them for a cast, he froze and died untimely; he was sent to eternal fire.<sup>74</sup>

54. Lord Markos Xylokaravis<sup>75</sup> from Constantinople, an educated man, was raised to the patriarchal throne. He spent some time in the Patriarchate and then the officials created many scandals because they had no affection for him. At that time there was a priest-monk from Trebizond, called Symeon, who had made himself very useful to all and who was also fond of entertaining. The people from Trebizond wished to appoint him patriarch; they had some of their sons within the seraglio and others outside in very many important positions and influential posts. So they entertained the officials and expressed their opposition to the patriarch, whom they slandered, saying that he made a pact to pay a *peskes* of one thousand florins; in actuality, neither

αὐτός, οὔτε οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ πατριάρχαι· ὁ δὲ ὤμνυε μὴ εἰδῶς  
τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀλλὰ οὐκ ἐπίστευον αὐτῷ. "Ὄθεν συναχθέντες οἱ  
15 Τραπεζούντιοι ἄρχοντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν πολιτῶν μερικοὶ συνάξαντες  
φλωρία χίλια ἔστειλαν αὐτὰ τὸν αὐθέντην εἰπόντες ὅτι ὁ πα-  
τριάρχης ἔταξε τὴν βασιλείαν σου φλωρία χίλια· δίδομεν καὶ  
ἡμεῖς τὰ αὐτὰ ἵνα ποιήσωμεν πατριάρχην τὸν ἡμέτερον καλό-  
γῃρον· οὐ γὰρ θέλομεν ἡμεῖς ὁ λαὸς καὶ οἱ κληρικοὶ τὸν Μάρ-  
20 κων. Μειδιάσας οὖν ὁ αὐθέντης καὶ καταγνοὺς τὴν ἀγνωσίαν  
αὐτῶν εἶπεν· ἀληθῶς ἔταξε ταῦτα, ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ οὐ θέλετε αὐτὸν  
ὑμεῖς, ποιήσατε οἷον βούλεσθε. Ἐκβαλόντες γὰρ τὸν κύριον  
Μάρκων ληστροικῶς ἐκ τοῦ πατριαρχείου, ἀνεβίβασαν τὸν κύριον  
Συμεῶνα· τὸν δὲ Μάρκων ἀνεθεμάτιζον οὐ μόνον κληρι-  
25 κοὶ ἀλλὰ καὶ ἰδιώται· ῥίπτοντες λίθους ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς καὶ ῥύ-  
μεισι τῆς Πόλεως ἀνεθεμάτιζον αὐτόν. Οὐ γὰρ εἶχε τί καὶ δρά-  
σειεν, ἐκάθητο ἰδιάζων, περιμένων ὅπως γένηται σύνοδος καὶ  
ἴδωσι τὴν ἑαυτῷ γεναμένην ἀδικίαν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπαύετο γράφων  
πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς. "Ὄθεν μερικοῦ καιροῦ παρελθόντος γέγονε  
30 καὶ σύνοδος μεγίστη ὅπως ἐξετάσωσιν ἐν τίνι ἐγκλήματι ἐξέω-  
σαν αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου αὐτοῦ· βοῶν γὰρ ἦν ὡς ἠδίκησαν αὐτόν.

55. Ἐν δὲ τῷ χορῷ τῶν ἀρχιερέων εἰς ἦν καὶ ὁ Φιλιππουπό-  
λεως κύριος Διονύσιος ἔχων φιλίαν ἄκραν μετὰ τῆς κυρᾶς τῆς  
Μάρως μητριαιᾶς οὔσης τοῦ αὐθέντος, ἥτις καὶ ἐτίμα καὶ ἠγάπα  
αὐτόν ὡς πνευματικὸν πατέρα· μαθοῦσα γὰρ αὕτη τὰ σκάνδαλα  
5 τῶν δύο πατριαρχῶν ἔκρινεν ὅπως ποιήσῃ τὸν κύριον Διονύσιον  
πατριάρχην καὶ παύωσι τὰ σκάνδαλα πάντα· γεγόνασι δὲ οἱ  
τῆς Πόλεως λαϊκοὶ τε καὶ ἱερεῖς πρασιαί, οἱ μὲν θέλοντες τὸν  
ἕνα, οἱ δὲ τὸν ἕτερον· βαλὼν γὰρ ἡ κυρία αὕτη εἰς ἕνα ταφίον  
ἀργυροῦν φλωρία δύο χιλιάδες ἐπορεύθη πρὸς τὸν αὐθέντην.  
10 Ἐρωτήσας οὖν αὐτήν, τί ἐστί ταῦτα, ὦ μήτηρ, ἡ δὲ ἔφη, ἔστι  
μοι εἰς καλόγῃρος καὶ παρακαλῶ τὴν αὐθεντεῖαν σου ὅπως  
ποιήσω αὐτὸν πατριάρχην. Ἄρας δὲ τὰ φλωρία καὶ εὐχαρι-  
στήσας αὐτήν εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτήν, ποιήσον, μήτηρ, ὃ βούλει.

he nor the patriarchs before him had paid anything. He swore  
that he was unaware of it but they did not believe him. And  
so the noblemen from Trebizond and some of the Constan-  
tinopolitans raised one thousand florins and sent them to the  
sovereign saying: "The patriarch has promised Your Majesty  
one thousand florins; we also offer the same amount so that we  
may make our monk patriarch; for we, the people and the clergy,  
do not want Markos." The sovereign smiled and, realizing their  
ignorance, said: "Truly he promised these florins; but since you  
do not want him, make whomever you wish patriarch." So they  
expelled Lord Markos, like thieves, from the Patriarchate and  
they raised up Lord Symeon.<sup>66</sup> Not only the officials but the  
laymen also cursed Markos and threw stones at him in the streets  
and avenues of the City with insults. There was nothing that  
he could do and he waited, like a private individual, for a synod  
to convene and investigate the injustice done to him; he did  
not stop writing to the hierarchs. After some time had passed  
a very large synod was convened in order to examine the grounds  
on which he had been expelled from his throne. He kept saying  
that he had suffered unjustly.

55. In the gathering of the hierarchs was Lord Dionysios of  
Philippoupolis,<sup>77</sup> who was a close friend of Lady Mara, the  
step-mother of the sovereign; she loved him [Dionysos] and  
honored him like a spiritual father. After she had discovered  
the scandals involving the two patriarchs, she decided to ap-  
point Lord Dionysios patriarch and bring the scandals to an  
end. For the laymen and the clergy were divided in the City:  
some wanted one man and the others were for the other. So  
this lady placed two thousand florins on a silver platter and went  
to the sovereign. He asked her: "What are these, mother?" She  
replied: "There is a monk, whom I would like to appoint  
patriarch with your permission." He took the florins, thanked

Καὶ ἀνεβιβάσθη εἰς τὸν πατριαρχικὸν θρόνον ὁ κύρις Διονύσιος  
 15 ὀρισμῶ τοῦ κρατοῦντος. Τί γὰρ εἶχον ποιῆσαι; Δύο γὰρ δερ-  
 νόντων ὁ τρίτος πρῶτος.

56. Καὶ ὁ μὲν κύρις Συμεὼν ἀνεχώρησεν ἐν τῇ μονῇ τοῦ Στε-  
 νημάχου, ὁ δὲ κύρ Μάρκος ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν Ὁχρί-  
 δου· ὀλίγον δὲ βιώσας ἐτελεύτησεν. Ὁ δὲ κύρ Διονύσιος πα-  
 τριαρχεῦων ἔτη ὀκτώ. Ὡρμητο μὲν οὗτος ἐκ Πελοποννήσου·  
 5 ἔλθων γὰρ ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει παῖς ὢν τῇ ἡλικίᾳ ἦν ἐν  
 τῇ μονῇ τῶν Μαγκάνων, ὑποτακτικὸς γενόμενος τοῦ κύρ Μάρ-  
 κου τοῦ Ἐφέσου τοῦ Εὐγενικοῦ καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τραφεὶς καὶ  
 παιδευθεὶς τὴν μοναχικὴν πολιτείαν, καὶ χειροτονήσας αὐτὸν  
 10 ἱερέα ἦν μετ' αὐτοῦ ἕως ἐν τοῖς ζῶσιν ἦν· ὕστερον δὲ γεναμένης  
 τῆς ἀλώσεως ἔλαβον αὐτὸν αἰχμάλωτον· ἠγόρασε δὲ αὐτὸν  
 τις ἄρχων ὀνόματι Κυρίτζης ἐν τῇ Ἀδριανουπόλει· ἐκ γὰρ  
 τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ γέγονε καὶ μητροπολίτης Φι-  
 λιππουπόλεως εἶτα καὶ πατριάρχης.

57. Ὦντος γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ ὁ ἐχθρὸς διάβολος φθο-  
 νήσας τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ κατάστασιν τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ἐνέβαλε ζι-  
 ζάνιον τοῖς κληρικοῖς, συκοφαντήσαντες αὐτὸν ὅτι ἐστὶ περι-  
 τετμημένος ἐκ τῶν Ἰσμαηλιτῶν ὧν περ εἶχον αὐτὸν δοῦλον.  
 5 Συνόδου συγκροτηθείσης καὶ συνάξεως οὐκ ὀλίγης γεναμένης  
 ἀρχιερέων καὶ ἐπισκόπων τῶν τῆς Πόλεως ἱερέων καὶ ἀρχόν-  
 των καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ λαοῦ πλήθος. Ἐλέγχοντες αὐτὸν ἦσαν τῶν  
 ἐκ κλήρου τινές· ὤμνυε γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀληθὲς τὸ λεγόμενον,  
 ἀλλὰ συκοφαντία ἐστίν. Ὡς οὖν οὐκ ἐπειθόντο, τί γὰρ εἶχε  
 10 δράσειεν; Ἄλλ' ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ νόμου μετάθεσις γίνεται. Ἐγερ-  
 θεὶς οὖν καὶ στὰς ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ πλήθους καὶ ἄρας τὰ κράσπεδα  
 τῶν ἱματίων αὐτοῦ ἔδειξε πᾶσι τὰς σάρκας αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἑκατέρου  
 μέρους τῶν καθεζομένων ἀρχιερέων καὶ κληρικῶν καὶ λαϊκῶν  
 τῶν καλλιστεούντων ὅσοι ἔτυχον εὐρεθέντες πλησίον· καὶ ἰδόντες  
 15 ἔξεπλάγησαν τὴν καθαρότητα καὶ παρθενίαν αὐτοῦ· οὐ γὰρ  
 ἦν σαρκὸς σημεῖον αὐτῷ, εἰ μὴ μόνον ἄκρον δέρματος.

her, and said: "Mother, do as you wish." So Lord Dionysios  
 was raised to the patriarchal throne by order of the ruler. What  
 was there to do? While two men were fighting it out, the third  
 carried the day.<sup>76</sup>

56. So Lord Symeon went to the Monastery of Stenemachos while  
 Lord Markos became the archbishop of Ochrid, which he held  
 until his death shortly thereafter. Lord Dionysios was patriarch  
 for eight years. His family was from the Peloponnesos and he  
 had come to Constantinople in early childhood. He lived in the  
 Monastery of Manganai and had been a subordinate of Lord  
 Markos Eugenikos of Ephesos.<sup>77</sup> He was brought up and  
 educated by him [Markos] in the monastic life. He [Markos]  
 consecrated him priest and he lived with him until his death.  
 Later, he [Dionysios] was taken prisoner in the sack and was  
 bought by a nobleman called Kyritzes in Adrianople; on account  
 of his virtue, he became the metropolitan of Philippoupolis some  
 time later and then patriarch.

57. While he was patriarch, the devil, our enemy, who became  
 envious of the peace and the state of the churches, started trouble  
 among the officials, who charged that the patriarch had been  
 circumcised by the Ismaelites when he had been their slave. Then  
 a synod was convened and was attended by a large gathering  
 of hierarchs, bishops, priests, and archons of the City, and the  
 common people. Some officials brought forth the charge. He  
 swore that their accusation was not true and that it was a slander.  
 As he failed to convince them, what was left for him to do?  
 Necessity can change the law. So he rose and stood in the mid-  
 dle of the company. Then he lifted his robes by the edges and  
 displayed his flesh to all who had taken their seats on each side:  
 the hierarchs, the officials, and the more prosperous laymen who  
 happened to be present. They were amazed at his purity and  
 virginity. He bore no marks; there was nothing but foreskin.

58. Αἰσχυνθέντες οὖν οἱ εἰπόντες ἔπεσον ἐν τοῖς ποσίν αὐτοῦ τοῦ συγχωρῆσαι αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀδικίαν καὶ συκοφαντίαν ἣν περ εἰργάσαντο· παρεκάλουν δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ πάντες ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς τοῦ μὴ ἐξελεθῆν ἐκ τοῦ πατριαρχικοῦ θρόνου· αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδὲ ἄκροισ ὧσιν ἠθέλησεν ἀκοῦσαι ἀλλὰ σταθεῖς παρῤῥησίᾳ ἀφώρισεν ἅπαντας τοὺς συνεργοὺς καὶ πράκτορας καὶ συκοφάντας τοῦ τοιοῦτου ἐγχειρήματος. Καὶ εὐθέως ἐξῆλθε τῆς Πόλεως μετὰ τοῦ βίου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐπορεύθη ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῆς Κοσινίτζου καὶ ἐποίησεν ἀνακτήσεις καὶ καλλιεργείας οὐκ ὀλίγας· ἔμεινε δὲ αὐτῇ τῇ μονῇ ζῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ.

59. Ἀνεβίβασαν δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὸν πατριαρχικὸν θρόνον τὸν κῦριν Συμεῶνα μετὰ πεσχεσίου φλωρία χιλιάδας δύο· οὐ γὰρ ἠθέλησεν ὁ τευτέρης λαβεῖν φλωρία χιλια, ὅτι εὐρέθησαν γραμμένα χιλιάδες δύο τοῦ κῦρ Διονυσίου.

60. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς καιροῖς ἐκείνοις ἐπορεύθη ὁ αὐθέντης ἐν τῇ Περσίᾳ, γενναμένης μάχης μετὰ τοῦ Οὐζοῦν Χασάνη· καὶ πορευθεὶς μέχρι τοῦ ποταμοῦ Εὐφράτου συνῆψεν πόλεμον μετ' αὐτοῦ. Ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ τῷ πολέμῳ ἀπεκτάνθη καὶ ὁ Χὰς Μουράτης μπεγλερμπεῖς ὢν τῆς Ἀνατολῆς ὁ υἱὸς Παλαιολόγου τοῦ Γίδη· ὁ δὲ Μαχμουτ πασιᾶς ἦν μπεγλερμπεῖς τῆς Δύσεως καὶ οὐκ ἐβοήθησεν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ· ἐφθόνηι γὰρ αὐτὸν. Διὸ καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου ὠργίσθη αὐτὸν ὁ αὐθέντης καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐπιανελεθῆν ἐκ τοῦ φουσάτου ἀπέπνιξεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ πύργῳ τοῦ Τζατλατῆ. Πολέμου οὖν γενομένου οὐκ ἠδυνήθη στήναι μετὰ τῶν Τομαλῆδων ὁ Οὐζοῦν Χασάνης, ἀλλὰ φυγῶν διεσώθη, ἔλαβε δὲ πλῆθος πολὺ ἐκ τῶν Ἀτζάμιδων τῶν ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ καὶ τῶν μεγιστάνων αὐτῶν καὶ ἔφερε πάντας ἐν τῇ Πόλει ζῶντες κακῶς· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπέθανον, οἱ δὲ ζῶντες, ἀγάπης γενομένης ἐπορεύθησαν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι αὐτῶν.

58. In shame, his accusers fell to their knees and begged him to forgive the injustice and slander they had produced. All hierarchs and all the people begged him to remain on the patriarchal throne. But he did not even wish to listen; he rose and without restraint he excommunicated all accomplices, partisans, and slanderers in this attempt. Without delay, he left the City with his property and belongings and went to the Kosinitzos Monastery; there he made restorations and became active with good deeds. He remained in this monastery and spent his life in peace.

59. Lord Symeon was raised again to the patriarchal throne with a *peskes* of two thousand florins, as the *defter* was unwilling to accept one thousand; he had found in the written accounts that two thousand had been given for Lord Dionysios.

60. In those days the sovereign marched to Persia and fought a battle against Uzun Hasan. He marched as far as the river Euphrates and fought a war against him. In this war Has Murad died; he was the *beglerbeg* of the East and the son of Palaiologos Gides. Mahmud Pasha, the *beglerbeg* of the West did not help him in the war, as he had a grudge against him; so he incurred the wrath of the sovereign and when he returned from the expedition he was strangled in the tower of Tzatlates. When the war started, Uzun Hasan was not able to stay with the Tomaledes; so he fled and saved himself. He [Mehmed] captured a large crowd of the Atzamides in the war and of their officers, whom he brought to the City barely alive. Some died but those who survived returned to their homeland with the declaration of peace.<sup>80</sup>

61. Πατριαρχεύσας οὖν ὁ κύρις Συμεὼν ἔτη τρία ἢ καὶ πλείω. Ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ καιρῷ ἐνεφάνη τις ἱερομόναχος ὀνόματι Ῥαφαὴλ ὀρμώμενος ἐκ τῆς Σερβίας, μέθυσος καὶ οἰνοπότης· ἔχων φίλους ἐκ τῶν μεγιστάνων ἐποίησεν ὅπως δῶν καθ' ἕκαστον χρόνον φλωρία χιλιάδας δύο καὶ πεσκέσιον φλωρία πεντακόσια· δέδωκαν δὲ αὐτῷ τὸν θρόνον καὶ ἐξεβλήθη πάλιν ὁ κύρ Συμεὼν. Στάσεως οὖν γεναμένης οὐκ ἤθελον συλλειτουργῆσαι αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ὅμως ἐκ τοῦ φόβου καὶ ἄκοντες ἐσυλλειτουργοῦν αὐτῷ. Ἦν γὰρ τοσοῦτον μέθυσος ὡς καὶ τῇ ἀγία καὶ μεγάλῃ Παρασκευῇ ἐν τοῖς τροπαρίοις οὐκ ἠδύνατο στήναι ἐκ τῆς μέθης, ἀλλ' ἐπιπτε τὸ δεκανίκιον ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν αὐτοῦ. Ἐμίσουν γὰρ αὐτὸν οἱ πάντες, τὸ μὲν ἐκ τῆς μέθης, τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἀλλογλωττίας. Περαιωθέντος οὖν τοῦ χρόνου οὐκ ἠδυνήθη δοῦναι τὸ χαράτζιον· οὐ γὰρ ἦν τις ὁ βοηθῶν αὐτῷ, οὔτε ἐκ τῶν κληρικῶν οὔτε ἐκ τῶν λαϊκῶν. Ἀφέντες γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔβαλλον ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ καὶ περιπατῶν μετὰ τῆς ἀλύσου ἐτελεύτησε κακῶς. Κοινῆς οὖν βουλῆς γεναμένης καὶ συνόδου συγκροτηθείσης ἐποίησαν πατριάρχην τὸν μέγαν ἐκκλησιάρχην μετονομάσαντες αὐτὸν Μάξιμον.

62. Ἐν ἔτει ᾧ οἱ ποιήσαντες μάχην μετὰ τῶν Βενετῶν, πορευθεὶς ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ θαλάττης ἔλαβε τὴν Εὐρίπον ἢ οὐκ ἠθέλησε προσκυνῆσαι αὐτόν· ἀπέκτεινε δὲ πάντας ἄνδρας ἀπὸ δεκαετοῦς καὶ ἀνωτέρω. Ἄρας δὲ καὶ τὸ Φτέλιον καὶ τὸ Γαρδίκιον καὶ καταλείψας αὐτά, πάντα τὸν λαὸν ἔφερεν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, ὁμοίως καὶ τῆς Εὐρίπου γυναϊκάς τε καὶ παῖδας· καὶ λαβόντες αἰχμαλώτων πλῆθος πολὺ ἤλθον ἐν τῇ Πόλει μετὰ νίκης. Γέγονε δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτει θανατικὸν μέγα καὶ ἐξάσιον οἶον οὐκ ἐγένετο ἐν πλείστοις ἔτεσι· ἐλθόντες γὰρ ἀσυνήθεις αἰχμαλῶτοι ἐκ διαφόρων τόπων γέγονε τοσοῦτη φθορὰ ὡς οὐκ ἔστι δυνατόν διηγήσασθαι.

61. Lord Symeon was patriarch for three years or even more. At that time there came to prominence a priest-monk named Raphael from Serbia;<sup>81</sup> he had a tendency to drink and he loved wine. Because he had many friends among the magnates he arranged to pay each year two thousand florins and a *peskes* of five hundred florins. So they gave him the throne and Lord Symeon was expelled once more. There was an outcry and they [hierarchs] did not wish to celebrate the Liturgy with him; they did so, however, on account of fear, even though they were unwilling. He was so addicted to drinking that even on Holy and Good Friday he was unable to stand during chanting, on account of his condition; his crook kept falling to the ground. Everybody hated him; some because of his drinking and others because of his foreign speech. When the deadline came, he was not able to pay the *harac*, as no one from among the officials or the laymen helped him. He was deserted and was imprisoned. He walked around carrying his chains before he suffered an evil death. Making a common council, a synod was convened; they elected the grand ecclesiarch patriarch, to whom they gave the name Maximos.<sup>82</sup>

62. In the year 978 [AD 1470], he [Mehmed] fought against the Venetians. He attacked Euripos by land and sea and seized it; it had refused to submit; he put all men, ten years or older, to death. He also took Phtelion and Gardikion; then he departed and brought the entire population to Constantinople; similarly, he brought the women and children from Euripos. Once they had captured a large multitude of prisoners they returned to the City in victory.<sup>83</sup> In the same year an unusually large number of people died of the plague; such an affliction had not occurred in very many years. The captives, who had come from different places were not accustomed to this and such losses occurred that they are impossible to describe.

63. Καὶ πάλιν πορευθεὶς μετ' ὀλίγον ἔλαβε τὸν Καφᾶν, τοὺς Θεοδώρους, τὴν Γοτθίαν, καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Περαιτίαν ἄνευ πολέμου τινὸς καὶ ἔφερεν αὐτοὺς σεργούνιδες. Οὐ γὰρ ἠσύχασεν ἔτος ἓν ὁ ἀλιτῆριος καὶ φθορεὺς τῶν Χριστιανῶν, ἀλλ' ὡσπερ ἀγέλας προβάτων ἔφερε κατ' ἔτος τοὺς ταλαιπώρους χριστιανούς, τοὺς μὲν πωλῶν, τοὺς δὲ χαρίζων. Τῆς ἀνοχῆς σου, δέσποτα παντοκράτωρ. Οὐ γὰρ ἠστόχησέ που ὁ ἄνομος, εἰ μὴ μόνον πορευθεὶς πρὸ καιροῦ ἐστράτευσεν ἐν τῷ Πεληγγράδι, ὅτε καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ πᾶσα ἡ Σερβία.

64. Ἐν δὲ τῷ Πεληγγράδι πορευθεὶς ἠφάνισαν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀποσκευὴν, καὶ τὰς σκηνάς καὶ τὰ ἄρματα καὶ ἵππους καὶ καμήλους ἀφέντες ἔφυγον. Ὁ δὲ τρόπος τοῦ ἀφανισμοῦ γέγονεν οὕτως· ὁ στρατηγὸς ὁ Ἰαγκὸς ἀκούσας ὅτι παρακάθηται ὁ αὐθέντης τὸ κάστρον, ἐλθὼν κρυφίως μετὰ τρισχιλίων ἀνθρώπων εὐρέθη ἐντός· ἀρματώσας δὲ αὐτοὺς ἔβαλεν ἐν οἴκοις παραγγειλάς αὐτοῖς τοῦ μὴ ἐξελεθεῖν ἕως οὐ ἀκούσωσι τὴν φωνὴν τῆς σάλπιγγος. Ἐποίησαν οὖν οὕτως· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκάθητο ἐν ὑψηλῷ τόπῳ θεωρῶν τὰς μαγγανείας ἃς εἰργάζοντο. Χαλάσαντες γὰρ τὰ τεῖχη μετὰ τῶν σκευῶν θέντες κλίμακας ἀνέβαινον ἐκ τῶν χαλαστριῶν. Χαλάσαντες πλῆθος πολὺ εἰσήσαν δῆνοντες καὶ αἰχμαλώτους· αὐτὸς δὲ ἐκάθευδεν. Ὅτε δὲ ἤρπαζον παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας τοῦ ἐξέρχεσθαι, κρούσας τὴν σάλπιγγα, εὐθέως ἐξῆλθον οἱ ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις μετὰ τῶν ἀρμάτων καὶ ποιήσαντες ἀλαλαγμὸν ὤρμησαν κατὰ τῶν Τουρκῶν· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἦσαν οἱ πλείονες ἐν τοῖς οἴκοις ἀρπάζοντες καὶ λεηλατοῦντες· φεύγοντες γὰρ διωκόμενοι τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτεινον, τοὺς δὲ ἐκρέμνιζον ἐκ τῶν τειχῶν. Ἰδόντες γὰρ οἱ ἐν ταῖς σκηναῖς τὴν ἀθρόαν μεταβολὴν καὶ ὅπως διώκονται ὑπὸ τῶν Οὐγκρῶν, ἀφέντες πάντα ἔφυγον μὴ θεωροῦντες τοὺς ὀπισθεν. Τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἐδίωκον αὐτοὺς ὡς καὶ τὰς σκευὰς αὐτῶν γεμίσαντες ἔβριπτον κατ' αὐτῶν. Ἀφέντες γὰρ τὸν τοσοῦτον βίον, καὶ ἄρματα καὶ σκηνάς, λαβόντες αὐτὰ κατέκαυσαν ἐν πυρὶ μὴ καταδεξάμενοι ἄραι τι ἐν αὐτῶν. Αἰσχυνθεὶς οὖν καὶ νικηθεὶς ὑπέστρεψεν.

63. After a while he marched and seized Caffa, Theodoroi, Gothia, and all of Peratia without a fight; he brought them back as *sürgün*. This rascal and murderer of Christians did not rest for one single year; like flocks of sheep he brought the wretched Christians every year; some he sold and others he gave away as gifts. Great is Your patience, Lord of the Universe! This lawless individual never missed the mark; his only failure was his earlier expedition against Belgrade, when all of Serbia submitted.

64. He marched to Belgrade; they destroyed his entire expedition and they were forced to abandon tents, weapons, horses, and camels, at their departure. This is how their failure came about: When General Janco heard that the sovereign had invested this city, he arrived secretly with three thousand men and entered. He armed his men and placed them in houses with orders to come out only when they heard the sound of the trumpet. So they did. He took his place on a high spot and inspected the operations of the enemy. After they had made breaches with their cannons, they placed ladders and climbed through the ruins. They put to death many defenders and began to take prisoners. Yet he remained calm. When they started seizing women and children, intending to lead them out of the city, he sounded the trumpet. Without delay, his men emerged, raised the war cry, and attacked the Turks, the majority of whom were in houses, looting and pillaging. They fled; they were pursued; some were killed and some were ejected from the walls. When in the tents the monumental change was observed, they realized that they were being pursued by the Hungarians and abandoned everything; they fled without looking behind. So hot was the chase that they [Hungarians] seized their [enemy's] cannons and fired them at the fleeing men. Even though a fortune had been left behind in tents and arms, they [Hungarians] took them and burned them in a bonfire, as they were too proud to take anything from them. In shame and defeat he [Mehmed] returned.<sup>84</sup>

65. Ὑστερον δὲ μετὰ τὸ ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ Καφᾶ, μετὰ παραδρομὴν ἑτῶν δύο ἔστειλε τὸν Μεσῆ πασιᾶ ἔκ τε στερεᾶς καὶ θαλάσσης μετὰ δυνάμειος πλείστης κατὰ τῆς Ῥόδου καὶ οὐκ ἴσχυσε λαβεῖν αὐτήν. Χαλάσαντες γὰρ μέρη τινὰ τοῦ κάστρου  
 5 μετὰ σκευῶν ὥρμησε τὸ πλῆθος εἰσελθεῖν· οἱ γὰρ Ῥόδιοι ποιήσαντες ἔνδοθεν τῶν χαλαστριῶν χάντακας ἐσκέπασαν αὐτοὺς μετὰ χώματος καὶ ἀπῆλθον κρυβέντες· ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Τοῦρκοὶ τὰς χαλαστρίας ἄτερ ὄχλου ὥρμησαν μετὰ ἀλαλαγμοῦ μὴ νοήσαντες τὸ δρᾶμα· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς πυθμῆσι τῶν χαντάκων θέντες  
 10 σοῦγλας ὀρθείας καὶ λόγχας. Εἰσελθόντες μετὰ ἀλαλαγμοῦ θέντες καὶ σαλπητρον ἔδραμον ἐντὸς τοῦ κάστρου· ἀπεσπάσθη οὖν τὸ χῶμα καὶ ἔπεσον οἱ εἰσελθόντες ἅπαντες ἐντὸς τῶν χαντάκων, οἱ μὲν σφαγέντες, οἱ δὲ κρημισθέντες. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ ἔξω καὶ μαθόντες τὸ γεγονός εἰς τοὺς εἰσελθόντας, οὐδεὶς  
 15 ἐτόλμησεν εἰσελθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔφυγον ὀπισθεν, ὑπέστρεψαν δὲ κενοί, μηδὲν ἰσχύσαντες.

66. Πατριαρχεῦοντος τοῦ κυροῦ Μαξίμου τοῦ Παλαιολόγου, τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἅπαντα εἰρηνικῶς διέκειντο, παυσσαμένων πάντων τῶν σκανδάλων· ἐποίμιανε τὸ ποιῆμιον ἐν παιδείᾳ καὶ νοουθεσίᾳ Κυρίου διδάσκων καθ' ἑκάστην Κυριακὴν ἐπ' ἄμβωνος· ὑπῆρχε γὰρ λογιώτατος καὶ ἡδὺς ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἔχων  
 5 πλάτος γλώσσης ὡς οὐδεὶς τῶν τότε εὐρισκομένων φιλοσόφων· τοσοῦτος γὰρ ἦν ὡς καὶ ἡ φήμη αὐτοῦ μέχρι καὶ τῆς τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἀκοῆς φθάσασα, ὅς καὶ στέλνει ζητῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐξήγησιν τοῦ ἁγίου τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν συμβόλου· ὅς καὶ γράψας  
 10 καὶ ἐξηγησάμενος ἀπέστειλεν αὐτὸ πρὸς αὐτούς, θεολογικῶς καὶ τεχνικῶς αὐτὸ συγγραψάμενος.

65. Later, after two years had passed since his expedition to Caffa, he sent Mesih Pasha with a very strong force, by land and sea to seize Rhodes; but he was not strong enough to take it. They destroyed some parts of the fortifications with the cannons and then launched an attack with their multitude. But the Rhodians dug trenches within the ruined sectors, covered them with soil, and went away to remain concealed. When the Turks saw that the fallen sectors had no defenders, they attacked with the war cry, as they had not perceived what had occurred. At the bottom of the trenches had been placed upright stakes and lances. Shouting their war cry, they entered, erected their standard, and rushed to the interior. The soil broke loose and all those who had entered fell into the trenches; some were killed by the fall and others were impaled. When those on the outside discovered what had happened to the attacking force, they did not dare to force their way but retreated and departed. They returned empty-handed, having accomplished nothing.<sup>85</sup>

66. While Lord Maximos Palaiologos was patriarch, the Church remained at peace, as all scandals ceased. He directed his flock with skill and by the teachings of the Lord; he preached from the pulpit every Sunday. He was very wise: a good orator, whose speech could not be rivaled by any of the philosophers of his time. Such a man was he that his reputation reached the ears of the ruler. He [Mehmed] asked him to explain the holy symbol of our faith. He [Maximos] explained it in writing and sent it to them [Turks]; it had been composed with skill and with a knowledge of theology.

67. Ὑπῆρχον γὰρ ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς ἐκεῖνοις νέοι εὐγενέστατοι ἐντὸς τοῦ σαραγίου ἐκ τε Πόλεως καὶ Τραπεζούντας, ἐξ ὧν ἦν καὶ ὁ τοῦ Ἀμοιρήτζη ὁ υἱὸς ὁ Μεχεμέτ μπείς, λογιώτατος καὶ ἑλληνικῶς καὶ ἀραβικῶς, ὃς καὶ ὀρισμῶ τοῦ κρατοῦντος μετεγλώττισε τὰ ἡμέτερα βιβλία εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων γλώτταν γράψας αὐτὰ ἀκριβέστατα. Ὁ γὰρ αὐθέντης αἰεὶ οὐκ ἐπαύετο ἐρωτῶν τὰ τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν μυστήρια παρ' αὐτῶν. Ἐμαθε γὰρ σὺν ἄλλοις καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀφορισμοῦ, ὅτι οἱ τῶν χριστιανῶν ἀρχιερεῖς τοὺς ἀφορίσαντας ἐν πταίσματι καὶ φθάσαντες τελευτήσουσι, τοὺς τοιοῦτους ἡ γῆ οὐ διαλύει, ἀλλὰ μένουσι τυμπανία μέλανες μέχρι καὶ χιλίων ἐτῶν. Ἀκούσας οὖν τοῦτο ἐθαύμασεν· ἐρωτήσας δὲ αὐτοὺς εἶπεν, ὅτι δύνανται πάλιν τοὺς ἀφορισθέντας λύσαι αὐτούς; Εἶπον οὖν ὅτι δύνανται. Διεμνήσατον οὖν εὐθέως τὸν πατριάρχην τοῦ εὑρεθῆναι ἀνθρώπον τὸν πρὸ καιροῦ ὄντα ἐν βάρει τοῦ ἀφορισμοῦ· ἐν ἀπορίᾳ οὖν γενόμενος ὁ πατριάρχης μετὰ τῶν κληρικῶν τοῦ ἀνεῦρεθῆ ὁ τοιοῦτος, ἐζήτησαν διορίαν ἡμερῶν ὅπως ἐρευνήσαντες εὔρωσι τὸν τοιοῦτον. Ἐνθυμηθέντες γὰρ ὡς πρὸ καιροῦ ὑπῆρχε τις γυνὴ πρεσβυτέρισσα ἔμπροσθεν τῶν πυλῶν τῆς Πάμμακαριστοῦ· ἦν γὰρ ἀσελγὲς γύναιον· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ κάλλους αὐτῆς ἔσχε πολλοὺς ἐραστάς. Ἐλεγχομένη οὖν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου ἔρριψε μῶμον κατ' αὐτοῦ συκοφαντήσασα αὐτὸν ὡς συνεγένετο μετ' αὐτῆς· ἤλεγχε γὰρ αὐτὸν φανερώς. Τῆς φήμης οὖν πανταχοῦ διασπαρείς, οἱ μὲν ἐπίστευον, οἱ δὲ ἠπίστου· οὐκ ἔχων δὲ ὅτι καὶ δράσειεν ἐν μιᾷ τῶν δεσποτικῶν ἑορτῶν ἐξεφώνησε βάρος ἀλύτου ἀφορισμοῦ κατὰ τῆς συκοφαντήσεως αὐτόν. Ἐνθυμηθέντες γὰρ αὐτὴν (ἦν γὰρ πρὸ καιροῦ τεθνηκυῖα) καὶ ἀνοίξαντες τὸ μνήμα αὐτῶν εὗρον αὐτὴν σώαν· μηδὲ τὰς ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τρίχας πεσοῦσας, ἦν γὰρ μεμελανωμένη καὶ ὠγκωμένη τυμπάνου δίκην καὶ ἀξιοδάκρυτος. Διεμνήσατο γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς σταλέντας καὶ ἀνέφερον αὐτὸ τὸν αὐθέντην· ὥρισε δὲ ἵνα πορευθέντες τῶν ἰδίων ἀνθρώπων θεωρήσωσιν αὐτήν. Ἐπορεύθησαν δὲ καὶ ἰδόντες ἐξεπλάγησαν·

67. At that time there were some very noble young men within the seraglio; they were from the City and from Trebizond. One of them was the son of Amoiroutzes, Mehmed Beg, who had been educated in Greek and Arabic literature; by order of the ruler he had translated our books into Arabic in the most accurate manner. For the sovereign always asked them about the doctrines of our faith. Among other matters, he also learned about excommunication, that the hierarchs of the Christians can excommunicate people who have been found guilty; such persons do not decompose after death in the earth but their bodies remain swollen and black for as long as one thousand years. He marvelled at this information and asked: "Is it possible to grant a pardon and invalidate an excommunication?" They said that they had the power to do so. So without delay he sent a messenger to the patriarch and directed him to locate a man who had been excommunicated in the past. The patriarch and the clergy were at a loss; for where could such an individual be found? They requested a period of a few days in order to investigate and identify such a person. They recalled that, some time ago, there was an older woman outside the gates of the [Monastery of] Pammakaristos. She was a loose woman, who, on account of her beauty, had had many lovers. When the patriarch had attempted to check her, she charged him with a slander, claiming that he had slept with her; she made this charge in public. Then this rumor spread and some people believed it while others put no trust in it. There was nothing else for him to do; in one of the more important festivals he excommunicated his slanderer with heavy words. Now they were reminded of her; she had died some time ago. They opened her grave and found her intact: the hair on her head had not fallen; she was swollen like a drum; and she was all black, in a pitiable condition. So he sent a message to the envoys who reported this event to the sovereign. So he ordered some of their men to go



καὶ πορευθέντες ἀνήγγειλον ὡς εἶδον αὐτήν. Στείλας δὲ καὶ  
 35 ἑτέρους ἄρχοντας μετὰ τῆς βουλῆς αὐτοῦ ἔβαλον αὐτήν εἰς  
 ἐν τῶν παρεκκλησίων βουλώσαντες αὐτό. Τάξας δὲ ὁ πα-  
 τριάρχης ἡμέραν καθ' ἣν ἔμελλε λειτουργῆσαι ὅπως μηνύση  
 αὐτοῦ ἵνα ἐξέλωσι αὐτήν· ἔγραψεν οὖν καὶ συγχωρητικὸν  
 40 γναμμένῃς θείας λειτουργίας στὰς ὁ πατριάρχης μετὰ δακρύων  
 ἀνέγνωσε τὸ τῆς συγχωρήσεως γράμμα καὶ παρευθύς, ὡ τοῦ  
 θαύματος, ἐν γὰρ τῷ ἀναγιγνώσκειν τὸν πατριάρχην τὸ τῆς  
 συγχωρήσεως γράμμα, αἱ ἀρμονίαι τῶν χειρῶν καὶ τῶν ποδῶν  
 45 αὐτῆς ἤρξαντο διαλύσθαι, ὡς καὶ οἱ ἐγγὺς τῶν λειψάνων  
 ἐστῶτες ἤκουον τὰς τῶν ἀρμονιῶν διαλύσεις κτύπους ἐκπέμ-  
 ποντας. Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τελείωσιν τῆς θείας ἱερουργίας ἀραντες  
 πάλιν τὸ λείψανον ἔθηκαν ἐν τῷ παρεκκλησίῳ σφραγίσαντες  
 αὐτὸ ἀσφαλῶς. Μετὰ δὲ παραδρομὴν ἡμερῶν τριῶν ἐλθόντες  
 καὶ ἀνοίξαντες τὰς σφραγίδας εὗρον αὐτήν τελείως λυθεῖσαν  
 50 καὶ χωρισθεῖσαν· καὶ ἰδόντες ἐξεπλάγησαν. Πορευθέντες οὖν  
 ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ αὐθέντῃ ὅσα τε εἶδον· καὶ ἀκούσας ἐθαύμασε  
 καὶ ἐξεπλάγη καὶ πιστεύσας ὅτι ἐστὶν ἀληθὴς ἡ τῶν χριστιαν-  
 ῶν πίστις.

68. Ἦν γὰρ φοβερῶτατος ὡς οὐδεὶς τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλέων·  
 ἔτρεμον γὰρ οἱ μεγασιᾶνες αὐτὸν πάντες· οὐ γὰρ ἦν προσω-  
 ποληψία ἐν αὐτῷ. Ἦν δὲ καὶ εὐεργετικός· ἡγάπα δὲ καὶ τοὺς  
 σοφούς, οὐ μόνον δὲ τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ  
 5 καὶ τοὺς ἐξ ἡμῶν. Διῆγε γὰρ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν μετὰ γνώσεως·  
 οὐ γὰρ ἐλάνθανεν αὐτὸν τι τῶν ἐν τῇ Πόλει γενομένων, μέχρι  
 καὶ μικρᾶς ὑποθέσεως· περιπατῶν γὰρ νυκτὸς ἐμάνθανε τὰ πάν-  
 τα τὰ ἐν τῇ Πόλει γενόμενα. Οὐδὲ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς τῶν ἐπι-  
 στημόνων ἐργασίας ἀφῆκε ἀνεξετάστους πῶς γίνονται καὶ τί ἐστὶ  
 10 τὸ κέρδος τῶν ἐργαζομένων αὐτάς· σοφὸς γὰρ ὢν οὐκ ἀφῆκε  
 τι ἀνεξέταστον.

and view her. They came, they saw, and they marvelled. They  
 went back and announced that they had seen her. He sent other  
 lords who, with his consent, placed her in one of the chapels  
 which was then sealed. The patriarch appointed the day on which  
 he would celebrate the Liturgy, wrote a letter of forgiveness,  
 and sent them word to bring her out. When the sovereign's men  
 came and took her out and the Liturgy was celebrated, the  
 patriarch rose and read, with tears, the letter of forgiveness.  
 What a miracle! Immediately, as soon as the patriarch began  
 reading the letter, the joints of her hands and feet started dissolv-  
 ing; those who were standing near her remains could hear the  
 loosening of the joints emitting sounds. After the end of the  
 divine sacrament they took the corpse and placed it in the chapel,  
 sealing it securely. After the passage of three days, they came,  
 broke the seals, and found her totally dissolved and separated.  
 They marvelled at the sight. They went and reported to the  
 sovereign what they had seen. He listened, marvelled, and was  
 amazed; he believed that the faith of the Christians was true.<sup>66</sup>

68. He [Mehmed] was feared more than any of his predecessors.  
 All the magnates trembled before him, as he played no favorites.  
 But he was also beneficent and loved scholars, not only those  
 of his race but ours also. He administered his kingdom with  
 wisdom; no event within the City, not even a small affair, escaped  
 his notice, for he used to walk about during the night and thus  
 became aware of all events.<sup>67</sup> He even investigated the work of  
 the professionals, finding out about their art and the profit of  
 the workers. As he was wise, there was nothing he neglected  
 to investigate.

69. Ἐμαθε δὲ καὶ ὅπως οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ φάλται γράφουσι τὰς τῶν μελωδούντων φωνάς· ὥρισε γοῦν ἵνα τραγωδήσῃ τις Πέρσης ὄνπερ εἶχεν αὐτὸν ἐκλεκτὸν ἐπιστήμονα· ἐτραγῶδει οὖν ἐκεῖνος τὸ τέσναιον, ὁ δὲ κύρ Γεράσιμος καὶ Γεώργιος ὁ φάλτης  
 5 ἔγραψον τὰς φωνάς· τελειώσαντες δὲ καὶ σχηματίσαντες αὐτό, ὥρισεν ὅπως φάλλωσι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ αὐθέντη τὸ αὐτὸ τέσναιον, ὄντος καὶ τοῦ Πέρσου ἐκεῖ. Ἐφάλλαν γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸν τραγωδήσαντα πρώην· ἤρесе τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἀπεδέχθη καὶ ἐθαύμασε τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων λεπτότητα·  
 10 ἔδωκε δὲ αὐτοῖς δωρεάς καὶ ὥρισεν ὅ,τι ὃ ἂν αἰτήσωνται δοῦναι αὐτοῖς. Ὁ δὲ Πέρσης πεσὼν προσεκύνησεν αὐτοὺς ἐκπλαγεὶς τὸ παράδοξον.

70. Τοιοῦτος γὰρ ἦν ἐν γνώσει καὶ σοφίᾳ ὡς οὐδεὶς τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ. Ἐπλάτυνε γὰρ τὰ ὅρια τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἕως πάσης Ἀσίας καὶ Εὐρώπης. Ἄλλ' οὖν ἔδει καὶ αὐτὸν ἀποδῶσαι τὸ κοινὸν χρέος· οὐ γὰρ ὠφέλλησε αὐτὸν ἡ τοσοῦτη εὐτυχία, ἀλλ'  
 5 ὡς ἄνθρωπος καὶ αὐτὸς χοϊκὸς ἔδωκε τέλος ἐν ἔτει ς 71 πη'.

71. Τρίτος σουλτάν Μπαγιαζίτης. Ἐλαβε δὲ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ σουλτάν Μπαγιαζίτης, ἔχων καὶ ἕτερον ἀδελφὸν τὸν Τζέμ σουλτάν, ὃς ἡγεμονεύων ἦν ἐν τῇ Μαγνησίᾳ, ὁ δὲ Μπαγιαζίτης ἦν ἐν τῇ Ἀμασειᾷ. Ἀπέθανε γὰρ ὁ αὐθέντης  
 5 οὐκ ἐντὸς τῆς Πόλεως ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ Ἀνατολῇ πλησίον Νικομηδείας· ἐστρατεύσας γὰρ ἦν, ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶδὲ τις ὅθεν ἐβούλετο. Ἔσχε γὰρ ὁ σουλτάν Μπαγιαζίτης υἱὸν μικρὸν ὀνόματι Κουρκοῦτ Τζελεπῆν, εὐρεθέντος ἐν τῇ Πόλει· ἀπέκτειναν δὲ καὶ ἓνα βεζίρην ὀνόματι Γιαγούπ πασιᾶ. Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ πρωτεύοντες ὅτι οὐ παύεται ὁ διωγμὸς ἀνεβίβασαν τὸν παῖδα εἰς τὸν  
 10 θρόνον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔπαυσεν ὁ διωγμὸς. Μετὰ δὲ τινὰς ἡμέρας ἦλθε καὶ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔλαβε τὴν βασιλείαν· τὸν δὲ υἱὸν αὐτοῦ ἔστειλε ἐν τῇ Μαγνησίᾳ δοῦς αὐτῷ σκήπτρον·

69. He even found out that the Roman cantors wrote down the music sung by the cantors. So he ordered a Persian expert to chant. He sang the *tesnaion*, while Lord Gerasimos and George the cantor transcribed the music; when they had finished and had written the musical notation, the sovereign ordered them to chant the same *tesnaion* before him and in the presence of the Persian; so they chanted even better than he. The emperor was delighted and admired the excellence of the Romans. He gave them presents and ordered that they should be granted whatever they wished. The Persian fell on his knees in respect for their excellence and he was amazed at this unexpected event.

70. He surpassed all his predecessors in knowledge and wisdom. He expanded his boundaries until he had included all Asia and Europe. But he, too, had to pay the common debt; his happiness was of no avail to him and like all men of clay, he died in the year 6988 [AD 1481].<sup>88</sup>

71. The third sultan was Bayezid. Sultan [Mehmed's] son, Bayezid, took over the kingdom; he had another brother, Sultan Cem, who was governing Magnesia while Bayezid was in Amaseia.<sup>89</sup> The sovereign had not died in the City but in Anatolia, near Nikomedeia; he had departed for an expedition but no one knew his objective. Sultan Bayezid had a young son called Korkud Çelebi, who happened to be in the City. They even killed a vizier called Yakub Pasha.<sup>90</sup> When the foremost lords saw that the riots had stopped, they raised the child to the throne of his father and the riots subsided.<sup>91</sup> A few days later his father arrived and took over the empire; he sent his son to Magnesia and gave him a standard. To his other son,

δέδωκε δὲ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν σουλτάν 'Αχουμάτη  
 15 τὴν 'Αμάσειαν· τὸν δὲ ἕτερον υἱὸν πρῶτον τὸν Σαχισάχ ἔδωκε τὴν Καραμανίαν· τὸν δὲ σουλτάν Μαχουμούτην δέδωκε τὴν Κασταμόνην· τὸν δὲ σουλτάν Σελίμη τὴν Τραπεζοῦντα.  
 "Ἔσχε δὲ καὶ ἕτερον υἱὸν σουλτάν Μεχεμέτη καὶ δέδωκεν αὐτῷ τὸν Καφᾶν, καὶ ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ ἐτελεύτησεν. Ἐμέρισε γὰρ πᾶσαν  
 20 τὴν Ἄνατολὴν τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ.

72. Ἄμα δὲ τοῦ ἡγεμονεῦσαι ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Ἄχουμάτ πασιᾶ ἄνδρα πολεμιστὴν καὶ ἀνδρεῖον καὶ ἀγαπώμενον ὑπὸ πάντων διὰ τὸ πολλὰκις νίκας ποιῆσαι. Ἐπέρασε γὰρ πρὸ καιροῦ καὶ ἐν τῇ Πούλια καὶ ἡχμαλώτισε τὸ Ὄτροντον καὶ ἑτέρας χώρας  
 5 καὶ κάστρον καὶ ἤνεγκε πλῆθος αἰχμαλώτων, ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν. Φθονήσας δὲ αὐτόν, οὐκ οἶδα ὅπως, ἀπέκτεινε αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ Ἀδριανουπόλει.

73. Εἶτα στρατεύει ἐν τῇ Μαγνησίᾳ κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ. Ἄκουσας δὲ ὁ Τζέμ σουλτάν ὅτι διώκει αὐτὸν φυγὰς ὤχετο. Ἔχων γὰρ φούστας τρεῖς ἐμβᾶς ἐν αὐταῖς ἀπέδρασε πορευθεὶς πρὸς τὸν σουλτάνον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ αἰτῶν ἐξ αὐτοῦ βοήθειαν πρὸς  
 5 τὸ ἀντιμάχεσθαι τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ· μὴ εὐρῶν γὰρ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὸ αἰτούμενον ἤτήσατο ὅπως πορευθῆι εἰς προσκύνησιν ἐν τῷ Μεκέτι· ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἀφῆκεν αὐτόν ὁ σουλτάνος οὐδὲ ἐκεῖ πορευθῆναι, φυγῶν ἦλθεν ἐν Ῥόδῳ. Ἀσμένως δὲ ὑποδεχθέντες αὐτόν οἱ Ῥόδιοι εἶχον αὐτόν ὥσπερ τινα θησαυρόν. Καὶ ἐφ'  
 10 ὅσον καιρὸν διῆγεν ἐν τῇ Ῥόδῳ οὐ διέλειπεν ἀεννάως στέλλειν ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτοὺς δωρεὰς ὅπως ἔχωσιν αὐτόν ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ. Χρόνων οὖν ἀπειρῶν διεληθόντων μετὰ καὶ τῆς βουλῆς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἔστειλαν αὐτόν εἰς Γένουβαν, φοβούμενοι μήπως ἀποδράσας περαιωθῆι ἐν τῇ Ἄνατολῇ καὶ προκύψει  
 15 αὐτῷ· φοβούμενος τὸ πλέον ἐκ τῶν Βαρσάκιδων· οὐ γὰρ ἤθελον τὸν σουλτάν Μπαγιαζίτην τοῦ εἶναι αὐθέντην αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' εἶχον βουλὴν μετὰ τῶν Τουλκατήριδων Καραμανιωτῶν ὅπως ποιήσωσι τὸν Τζέμην αὐθέντην ἐν τῇ Ἄνατολῇ.

Sultan Ahmed, he gave Amaseia; to his other son, the eldest, Şahinşah, he gave Karamania; to Sultan Mahmud he gave Kastamone and to Sultan Selim he gave Trebizond. He had another son, Sultan Mehmed, to whom he gave Caffa, but he died shortly thereafter. Thus he divided all of Anatolia among his sons.<sup>92</sup>

72. After he took over the empire, he put Ahmed [Gedik] Pasha, a brave warrior to death; he had been loved by all, on account of his many victories. Sometime ago he had even crossed to Apulia, had captured Otranto and many other regions and cities, and had brought back a multitude of prisoners, both men and women.<sup>93</sup> Somehow he became envious of him and had him put to death in Adrianople.

73. Then he marched against his brother in Magnesia. When Sultan Cem heard that he was being pursued, he fled. He boarded the three *fustae* that he had and escaped; he came to the sultan in Egypt and asked for aid in order to oppose his brother; his petition was rejected and he asked to be allowed to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca; when the sultan refused even that, he fled and came to Rhodes. The inhabitants of Rhodes received him with joy and considered him a real treasure. During this stay in Rhodes, his brother kept sending gifts to them to keep him in secure custody. After a great many years had passed, they sent him, with the consent of his brother, to Genoa; they feared that he would escape and go to Anatolia. He had great fear on account of the Barsakides; they did not want to have Sultan Bayezid as their sovereign and had made a pact with the Karamanians of Dulkadir to proclaim Cem sovereign of Anatolia.

74. Μαθὼν γὰρ ὁ αὐθέντης τὴν βουλὴν ἤνπερ εἶχον διεμνηύ-  
 σατο πρὸς τοὺς Ῥοδίους καὶ ἔστειλαν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἐνδοτε-  
 ραν τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἐπαρχίαν, τέλος κατανήσας ἐν Ῥώμῃ. Ὀν-  
 5 τοσ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ διεμνηύσατο ὁ αὐθέντης πρὸς τοὺς Βε-  
 νετίκους (ἔσχε γὰρ ἄκραν φιλίαν μετ' αὐτῶν) ὅπως ποιήσαν-  
 τες τρόπον φαρμακεύσωσι αὐτόν· ὃ καὶ ἐποίησαν. Στείλαντες  
 γὰρ ἓνα τῶν ἀρχόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν πάνυ ἐπιτηδειότατον, ἐπι-  
 στάμενον ἀκριβῶς τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων διάλεκτον, φιλίαν γὰρ  
 10 καὶ μὴ νοήσας τὸ δρᾶμα, ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν μετὰ φαρμάκου·  
 καὶ ἤφερον τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Προύσῃ μετὰ χαρισμάτων  
 πολλῶν ὧνπερ ἔστειλε πρὸς Βενετικούς. Καὶ ποιήσας ἄκραν  
 φιλίαν μετ' αὐτῶν γέμουσα δόλου, ἔστειλαν καὶ τὸν δράσαντα  
 τὴν φαρμακοποισίαν ἐν τῇ Πόλει· δοὺς ὁ αὐθέντης δωρεὰς οὐκ  
 15 ὀλίγας, φέρων τάχα σχῆμα ἀποκρισαρίου διὰ τὸ ἀνύποπτον.  
 Διέμεινε δὲ ἐν τῇ Πόλει ἔχων τιμὴν οὐκ ὀλίγην, παρὰ πάντων  
 τιμώμενος· ἦν γὰρ κάλλει ὠραῖος καὶ εὐειδής. Ἐν μιᾷ οὖν  
 τῶν ἡμερῶν εὐρέθη τεθνηκῶς ἄνευ τινὸς πόνου ἢ ἀσθενείας.  
 Ἐν γὰρ ᾧ μέτρῳ ἐκέρασε καὶ αὐτὸς κερασθεὶς ἐτελεύτησε.

75. Ἄλλ' εἵπωμεν τὰ γεγονότα· ἐν τῇ ἀρχῇ τῆς ἡγεμονίας  
 αὐτοῦ ἐν δευτέρῳ γὰρ ἔτει στρατεύει κατὰ Μολδοβλαχίας καὶ  
 ἠγαλώτευσεν τὸ Κελλίον καὶ Ἀσπρόκαστρον· καὶ λαβὼν πάν-  
 5 τας αἰχμαλώτους ἀνδρας τε καὶ γυναῖκας ἔφερον αὐτοὺς ἐν  
 τῇ Πόλει. Ὁ γὰρ Μπόγδανος ὁ πρῶν αὐθέντης ἐποίησε πό-  
 λεμον μετὰ τοῦ σουλτὰν Μεχεμέτη καὶ ἐνίκησεν αὐτὸν κατα-  
 λύσας πλῆθος πολὺ ἐκ τῶν Τουρκῶν. Ἐνεκεν ἐκείνου ἐπο-  
 ρεύθη κατ' αὐτοῦ ὁ νέος αὐθέντης, ὅμως ἔλαβεν ὡς ἔφημεν  
 Κελλίον καὶ Ἀσπρόκαστρον.

74. When the sovereign became aware of their plan, he sent  
 a message to the inhabitants of Rhodes and they shipped him  
 to the interior provinces of Italy; finally, he ended up in Rome.  
 While he was there, the sovereign sent a message to the Vene-  
 tians, as he was in very friendly terms with them, and asked  
 them to find a way to poison him, which they did. They sent  
 one of the lords to him, who was really suited for the attempt;  
 he knew the language of the Arabs very well and he pretended  
 friendship; he was with him every day, eating and drinking in  
 his company; he did not detect the plot and was killed by a  
 poison. They transported his corpse to Prousa. He sent many  
 gifts to the Venetians for this. He concluded a warm treaty of  
 friendship, which was full of treachery. They even sent the man  
 who administered the poison to the City; the sovereign gave  
 him many gifts, as the man had come in the guise of an envoy  
 to avoid suspicion. He commanded considerable influence in  
 the City and he was honored by all, as he was very handsome  
 and pleasant. One day he was found dead; he had not been suf-  
 fering from pain or illness. He perished by the same mixture  
 that he had administered.<sup>94</sup>

75. But let me return to the events. In the beginning of his reign,  
 in the second year, he marched against Moldavia and Wallachia  
 and captured Kellion and Asprokastron; he seized all the women  
 and men and took them away to the City. Bodgan, the previous  
 lord, had started a war against Sultan Mehmed and had defeated  
 him, putting to death a large multitude of Turks. On account  
 of this, the new sovereign marched against him. As I mentioned  
 he seized Kellion and Asprokastron.<sup>95</sup>

74. Μαθὼν γὰρ ὁ αὐθέντης τὴν βουλὴν ἤνπερ εἶχον διεμηνύ-  
 σατο πρὸς τοὺς Ῥοδίους καὶ ἔστειλαν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἐνδοτέ-  
 ραν τῶν Ἰταλῶν ἐπαρχίαν, τέλος κατανήσας ἐν Ῥώμῃ. Ὁυ-  
 5 τοσ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ διεμηνύσατο ὁ αὐθέντης πρὸς τοὺς Βε-  
 νετίκους (ἔσχε γὰρ ἄκραν φιλίαν μετ' αὐτῶν) ὅπως ποιήσαν-  
 τες τρόπον φαρμακεύσωσι αὐτόν· ὃ καὶ ἐποίησαν. Στείλαντες  
 γὰρ ἓνα τῶν ἀρχόντων πρὸς αὐτὸν πάνυ ἐπιτηδεύτατον, ἐπι-  
 στάμενον ἀκριβῶς τὴν τῶν Ἀράβων διάλεκτον, φιλίαν γὰρ  
 ὑποκριθεὶς, ἦν καθ' ἐκάστην ἐσθίων καὶ πίνων μετ' αὐτοῦ·  
 10 καὶ μὴ νοήσας τὸ δρᾶμα, ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν μετὰ φαρμάκου·  
 καὶ ἤφερον τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Προύσῃ μετὰ χαρισμάτων  
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 λύσας πλῆθος πολὺ ἐκ τῶν Τουρκῶν. Ἐνεκεν ἐκείνου ἐπο-  
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 him, putting to death a large multitude of Turks. On account  
 of this, the new sovereign marched against him. As I mentioned  
 he seized Kellion and Asprokastron.<sup>95</sup>

76. Μετὰ δὲ παραδρομὴν ἐτῶν δέκα στρατεύει κατὰ τῶν Ἀλβανίτων· πορευθεὶς δὲ οὐδὲν ἴσχυσεν ἐκ τοῦ τόπου τὸ ἄβατον καὶ τραχὺ καὶ πετρῶδες· εἰσὶ γὰρ οἰκοῦντες ἐν ὄρεσι ἀβάτοις· ἵππος γὰρ ἀναβαίνειν οὐ δύναται. Τί γὰρ εἶχον ποιῆσαι; Ἀρπάσαντες οὖν ἔνθεν κάκειθεν παιδας καὶ παιδίσκας πυρπολήσαντες καὶ χώρας αὐτῶν ἤλθον ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει.

77. Εἶπόμεν καὶ τὰ γενόμενα μετὰ τῶν Βενετίκων. Ποιήσαντες γὰρ τὴν φαρμακοποσίαν, ἥνπερ ἔφημεν, εἰς τὸν τοῦ αὐθεντοῦ ἀδελφὸν τὸν Τζέμ σουλτάν, ἤλπιζον τοῦ εὐρεῖν ἐκ τῶν Τουρκῶν τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν καὶ ἀγάπην ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ· οὐ γὰρ ἔγνωσαν ὅτι ἡ φιλία αὐτῶν ψευδὴς καὶ δόλου γέμουσα· καὶ ἐκαθέζοντο ἐν ἀμελείᾳ. Οἱ Τοῦρκοι δὲ ὥκονόμου ἀρμάδα μείστην καὶ ὥρμησαν κατ' αὐτῶν ἄραντες μάχην καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ἐκ γῆς καὶ θαλάττης καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ αὐθέντης. Εἰς δὲ τὴν ἀρμάδα ἦν καπετάνιος ὁ Μουσταφᾶς πασιᾶς ὃς γέγονε ὕστερον καὶ βεζιρῆς καὶ ἐτελεύτησεν. Εἶχον δὲ οἱ Τοῦρκοι ἀρμάδα πλείστην ἐπέκεινα πεντακοσίων ἄνευ τῶν μαγούνων καὶ καραβίων δύο μεγάλων ὀνομαστῶν· τὸ μὲν ἐν τοῦ Κιαμάλη καὶ τὸ ἄλλο τοῦ Μπαράκ ρεῖζη.

78. Εὐρέθη οὖν ὁ Λουρδᾶς καπετάνιος τῶν Βενετίκων καὶ ἰδὼν τὸ καράβι τοῦ Μπαράκ ρεῖζη θαρβῶν ὅτι ἐστὶ τοῦ Κιαμάλη (ὡς ὅτι ὁ Κιαμάλης ἐλεηλάτησε πᾶσαν τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀρπάζων καὶ ἀφανίζων τοὺς χριστιανούς) ὥρμησε μετὰ δύο καραβίων καὶ ἀφάνιζον τοὺς χριστιανούς) ὥρμησε μετὰ δύο καραβίων μεγάλων καὶ ἔβαλεν αὐτὸ εἰς τὸ μέσον· καὶ ῥίξαντες ἀλύσους ἔδησαν αὐτὸ μετὰ τῶν δύο. Πολέμου δὲ γενομένου ἐπιπτον ἐξ ἑκατέρων· ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ Μπαράκ ρεῖζης ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶ ἰκανὸς τοῦ πολεμῆσαι αὐτά, ἔβριψε πῦρ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν καραβίων· καὶ ἀνάφαντα οὐκ ἠδυνήθησαν χωρισθῆναι ἐπ' ἀλλήλων· ἀπετεφρώθησαν δὲ καὶ τὰ τρία ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ πελάγου· οἱ ἄνθρωποι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἀνηλώθησαν ἐκ τοῦ πυρός, καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ Λουρδᾶς καὶ ὁ Μπαράκης, οἱ δὲ πεσόντες ἀπεπνίγησαν.

76. Ten years later he marched against the Albanians; his expedition failed, on account of the impassable, rough, and rocky terrain. They [Albanians] inhabit inaccessible mountains and horses cannot climb. What could they do? Here and there they seized young boys and girls and burned their regions before they returned to Constantinople.<sup>96</sup>

77. Let me mention the affairs with the Venetians. Once they had poisoned with a drink the sovereign's brother, Sultan Cem, as I have related, they hoped to have honor, glory, and peace with the Turks throughout the sovereign's life. They did not know that their friendship was false, full of treachery; so they remained at ease. But the Turks were preparing the greatest armada. They attacked them and began a war by sea and land in which the sovereign himself participated. The captain of the armada was Mustafa Pasha who later became vizier and died in his post. The Turks had a very large armada, over five hundred galleys, without counting the barges, and two large, renowned ships; one was commanded by Kemal and the other by Burak Reis.<sup>97</sup>

78. Loredano, the captain of the Venetians happened to be there and he saw the ship of Burak Reis; he thought that it was Kemal's. As Kemal had raided all of Italy, abducting and destroying Christians, he attacked with two large ships and took position on either side of it. They bound it with chains in between the two ships. During the battle there were casualties on both sides. When Burak Reis saw that he could not prevail, he started a fire in the middle of the ships; once they were on fire, they could not pull free from each other and they all burned in the middle of the sea. Some sailors perished in the fire, including Loredano himself and Burak, while others, those who fell into the sea, drowned.<sup>98</sup>

79. Ἡ δὲ ἄλλη ἀρμάδα τῶν Τουρκῶν εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν Ἐπαχ-  
 τον, μὴ δυναθέντες οἱ Βενέτικοι ἐμποδίσαι αὐτούς· ἦν γὰρ καὶ  
 τῆς στερέας ὁ αὐθέντης μετὰ τοῦ φωσάτου. Ἐπροσκύνησε δὲ  
 ὁ Ἐπαχτος καὶ ὁ Γαλατᾶς ἐν ἔτει ζη'. Καὶ ὑποστρέψας ὁ  
 5 αὐθέντης ἦλθεν ἐν Ἀδριανουπόλει καὶ ἐποίησεν ἔτος ἐν ἧ καὶ  
 ἔλαττον καὶ πάλιν ἐκστρατεύει ἐν τῇ Μεθώνῃ· ἡ γὰρ ἀρμάδα  
 ἐχείμασεν ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν ἐκεῖνοις.

80. Παρέλαβε δὲ τὴν Μεθώνην ἐν ἔτει ζθ'. Ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς  
 ἀλώσεως αὐτῆς ἦν οὗτος· ὄντος γὰρ τοῦ αὐθέντου καὶ παρα-  
 καθημένου αὐτὴν μετὰ πλήθους φωσάτου ἐπὶ πλείονας ἡμέρας  
 (οὐκ ἠδύνατο λαβεῖν αὐτήν· ἦν γὰρ τὰ τείχη αὐτῆς ὄχυρά καὶ  
 5 πλήθος ἀνθρώπων ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ) ὥς καὶ ἠβουλήθη ὁ αὐθέντης  
 παρητήσασθαι αὐτήν. Ἄλλ' ὅρα τὴν ἀμαρτίαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ  
 Θεοῦ ἐγκατάλειψιν· ἐν μιᾷ οὖν τῶν ἡμερῶν ἦλθον κάτεργα  
 ἐκ τῆς Βενετίας φέροντα ἀνθρώπους εἰς βοήθειαν καὶ τροφὰς  
 καὶ ἄρματα· ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ ἐν τοῖς τείχεσι ἔδραμον μετὰ χαρᾶς  
 10 καὶ σπουδῆς καὶ ἦλθον ἐν τῷ αἰγιαλῷ τοῦ ἀσπάσασθαι καὶ  
 συγχαρῆναι αὐτοῖς· ἅπαντες δὲ ἔδραμον ἄνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκες  
 ἐάσαντες τὰ τείχη· ἦν δὲ πρωί. Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Τούρκοι ὅτι  
 τὰ τείχη εἰσὶν ἄνευ ἀνθρώπων, ἐκ τοῦ μέρους τοῦ χαμηλοτέρου  
 θέντες κλίμακας καὶ ἦλους ἀνέβησαν εὐθέως, ὥσπερ ἀετοὶ οἱ  
 15 γενίτζαροι θέντες σκῆπτρον ἐν τοῖς τείχεσιν, μὴ εἰδότες σὺν  
 τῷ αἰγιαλῷ ὄντες τὸ δρᾶμα ἕως οὗ ἠλάλαξαν. Ἀναβάντες  
 οὖν δρομαῖοι εὔρον Τούρκους ἀναριθμήτους ἀρπάζοντας  
 γυναῖκας καὶ παῖδας. Ἐβρίψαν οὖν πῦρ οἱ ἐντόπιοι ὅπως φο-  
 βηθέντες φύγωσιν· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἀνέβαινον πλείονες μὴ δεδοικό-  
 20 τες τὸ πῦρ. Ἀπετεφρώθησαν οὖν καὶ οἶκοι καὶ ναοί· ἀλλ' οὖν  
 ἔλαβον αὐτὴν ἀπονῆγί. Συναξάντες δὲ ἅπαντας ἄνδρας ἀπὸ  
 δωδεκαετοῦς καὶ ἄνω ἀπέκτειναν αὐτούς ἐν στόματι μαχαίρας.

79. The rest of the Turkish armada entered Naupaktos [Lepanto] and the Venetians were unable to stop them, as the sovereign had arrived by land with his army. So Naupaktos and Galata submitted in the year 78 [AD 1499]. The sovereign then returned to Adrianople and he remained here for one year or less; then he marched against Methone; his armada had spent the winter in those regions.<sup>99</sup>

80. He seized Methone in the year 79 [AD 1500]. This is how he conquered it: After it had been invested by his large army for a great number of days, it seemed improbable that it would fall, as its walls were fortified and there was a large number of defenders. The sovereign had almost given up hope and was about to depart. But sin intervened and God departed! One day galleys from Venice came, bringing help: men, provisions, and weapons. The defenders on the walls saw them arrive and rushed in joy to the shore in order to greet them and congratulate them. Everybody went: men and women left the walls. This occurred in the morning. When the Turks realized that the walls were unmanned, they placed ladders and wedges on the lowest sector of the walls and, without delay, the janissaries climbed, like eagles, and erected their standards on the walls. Those on the shore did not know what had passed until they heard the war cry. They rushed back and found countless Turks seizing women and children. The locals started a fire in order to instill fear in them and force them out but the majority kept on climbing and showed no fear for the fire. Thus houses and churches were burned to ashes and they seized the town without trouble. They gathered the men, twelve years or older, and put them to the sword.<sup>100</sup>

81. Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ Κορωνάιοι ἔστειλαν τὰς κλεῖς φοβηθέντες μήπως πάθωσι καὶ αὐτοὶ τὰ ὅμοια· καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησεν αὐτοῖς οὐδὲν κακόν· ὕστερον κατεβίβασε αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ κάστρου ἑάσας μόνον Τούρκους φυλάττειν αὐτό. Γυναῖκας δὲ καὶ παῖδας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς Μεθώνης ἔλαβεν ἅπαντας αἰχμαλώτους ἐν τε Δύσει καὶ Ἀνατολῇ. Οὕτως γέγονεν ἡ ἄλωσις τῆς Μεθώνης. Ἐπροσεκύνησε δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἀβαρινός.

81. When the inhabitants of Korone discovered this, they sent the keys to their city, as they feared that they would suffer a similar fate. He did not harm them at all. Later he brought them out of the city and he only allowed Turks to guard it, The women and children from Methone he took away to Anatolia and the West as his prisoners. In this way Methone fell. Navarino [Pylos], too, submitted.<sup>101</sup>

82. The sovereign returned to Constantinople and relaxed for a long period, as he was ill for most of the time; he was suffering from arthritis, which had attacked his entire body. He made peace with all and he remained quiet.<sup>102</sup>

83. Let me give an account of the ecclesiastical matters also. Lord Symeon died after he had been patriarch for six years. All the hierarchs from Anatolia and the West attended the synod that was convened. There were many useful hierarchs in those days, such as Lord Daniel of Ephesos, a scholar, and many others; one of them was Lord Nephon of Thessalonike.<sup>103</sup> They took a vote and the majority elected the Thessalonian who was made patriarch. He was most useful in all matters and a good speaker, who had no rival among the hierarchs of that period. Every day he preached from the pulpit; even though he had not studied philosophy, his breadth of mind and speech surpassed those of the philosophers of his time. He was a noble Roman from the Peloponnesos on his mother's side; his father was an Albanian lord. When he was still young, he decided to become a monk and left his parents; he went to the Holy Mountain [Athos] and became a monk. Then he was ordained a priest. He spent a sufficient number of years in the Monastery of Pantokrator. When Thessalonike lost its hierarch, the inhabitants petitioned him to become their hierarch, as his reputation had reached them all.

82. Ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ αὐθέντης ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει ἡσύχασεν ἐν καιροῖς πλείστοις διὰ τὸ γενέσθαι αὐτὸν ἐν ἀσθενείᾳ τὸν πλείονα χρόνον· ἀρθρίτις γὰρ αὐτῷ περιεγένετο κυριεύσας ἅπαν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ. Καὶ ποιήσας εἰρήνην μετὰ πάντων ἡσύχασεν.

83. Εἶπωμεν καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Πατριαρχεύσας οὖν ὁ κύριος Συμεὼν ἔτη ἕξ ἐτελεύτησεν. Συνόδου οὖν γεναμένης ἦλθον πάντες οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς Δύσεώς τε καὶ Ἀνατολῆς· ἦν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς ἐκείνοις ἀρχιερεῖς χρησιμώτατοι· ἦν γὰρ ὁ Ἐφέσου κύριος Δανιὴλ μέτοχος λόγου καὶ ἕτεροι οὐκ ὀλίγοι, ἐξ ὧν εἷς ἦν καὶ ὁ Θεσσαλονίκης Νήφων. Ἐποίησαν οὖν ψήφους καὶ ἔπεσον οἱ ψῆφοι εἰς τὸν Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ ἐποίησαν αὐτὸν πατριάρχην. Ἦν γὰρ ἐν πᾶσι χρησιμώτατος καὶ ἔχων πλάτος γλώττης ὡς οὐδεὶς τῶν τότε ἀρχιερέων· ἐδίδασκε γὰρ καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπὶ ἄμβωνος· οὐ γὰρ ἦν μέτοχος φιλοσοφίας ἀλλὰ ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ πλάτος νοῦς καὶ γλώττης ὡς ὑπερβαίνειν τοὺς τότε φιλοσόφους. Ἦν γὰρ τῷ γένει ἐκ Πελοποννήσου ἐκ μητρὸς Ῥωμαῖος εὐγενής, ἐκ δὲ πατρὸς Ἀλβανίτου. Ἐκ νεαρᾶς δὲ ἡλικίας ποθήσας τὴν μοναχικὴν πολιτείαν ἀφείλκε τοὺς γεννητοράς ἐπορεύθη ἐν τῷ Ἁγίῳ Ὄρει κάκει γέγονε μοναχὸς εἶτα καὶ ἱερεὺς· ἐδιδέμεινε δὲ χρόνους ἰκανοὺς ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῇ λεγομένῃ τοῦ Παντοκράτορος. Ὡς δὲ ἡ Θεσσαλονίκη ἔμεινε χηρευαμένη ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως αὐτῆς ἐζήτησαν αὐτὸν οἱ Θεσσαλονικιοὶ τοῦ ποιῆσαι αὐτὸν ἀρχιερέα· ἡ φήμη γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἦν ἐν ταῖς τῶν



20 πάντων ἀκοαῖς. Οὐ γὰρ ἠθέλησεν ἐξελεθεῖν ἐκ τῆς μονῆς ἀλλ' οὖν οἱ ἐν τῇ μονῇ πατέρες διέκριναν ὅτι ὠφελείας ἔνεκεν ἀνάγκη ἐστὶν ὅπως πορευθῆς μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἡμετέρων εὐχῶν· ἀλλ' οὖν γέγονε Θεσσαλονίκης καὶ ἄκων· ὕστερον δὲ ἀνεβιβάσθη καὶ εἰς τὸν ὑψηλότατον θρόνον τῆς Κωνσταντινουπόλεως· τοιοῦτον  
25 γὰρ ἡ ἀρετῆ.

84. Ἀλλὰ ἀνέλθωμεν πάλιν ὅθεν ἐξήλθομεν. Ἀποθανῶν γὰρ ὁ κύριος Συμεὼν κατέλειπε βίον ἄπειρον καὶ οὐκ ἐποίησεν ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ οἰκονομίαν τινα ὅπως γένηται ὁ βίος τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Ἐλθὼν γὰρ ὁ κύριος Νήφων οὐκ ἐδέξατο τὸν τοῦ Ἀμηρουτζίου υἱὸν τὸν Σκεντέρμπεϊ (ἦν γὰρ χασνατάρμπασις καὶ Τραπεζούντιος καὶ γείτων τῆς Παμμακαριστοῦ)· καὶ εἰδὼς ὡς οὐκ ἔχει κληρονόμον ὁ ἀποθανῶν, ἐποίησε τὸν ἅπαντα βίον, ὅχι μόνον ἐκεῖνου ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν τῆς ἐκκλησίας, αὐθεντικόν, λέγοντος αὐτοῦ ὅτι ἐπροσήλωσε σκευὴ ἱερὰ εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ πατριαρχεῖαν· ἅπαντα γενήσονται αὐθεντικά. Ἔλαβον γὰρ εὐαγγέλια κεκοσμημένα, ἱερὰ καλύμματα διάφορα, δεκανίκια ἐξ ἀργύρου, καὶ τί χρῆ λέγειν; Ἔλαβον εἰς ποσὸν χιλιάδων ἑκατὸν ὀγδοήκοντα· ἔβαλον δὲ καὶ πάντας τοὺς κληρικούς ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ καὶ ἐγένετο διωγμὸς οὐκ ὀλίγος. Μὴ ἔχων δὲ ὁ πατριάρχης ὅ,τι καὶ δράσειεν, οἰκονόμησε μάρτυρας ὅπως μαρτυρήσωσιν ὅτι ὁ Βασίλειος ἐστὶν ἀνεψιὸς αὐτοῦ, τῆς μητρὸς γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὸν λέγοντες εἶναι τὸν πατριάρχην· ἐμαρτύρησαν δὲ οὕτως. Ὁ ἀλιτήριος δὲ Σκεντέρμπεϊς ἠπίστατο καλῶς ὅτι ψευδῶς ἐμαρτύρησαν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ὡς εἶπον, ἀλλ' ἦν ἀνεψιὸς ἐκ μικρᾶς θείας υἱός. Πιάσαντες οὖν αὐτοὺς ἀπέκοψαν τὰς ῥίνας αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν τριῶν· εἰς γὰρ ἦν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἱερομόναχος ὀνόματι Ἀντώνιος. Ὁργισθεὶς οὖν ὁ αὐθέντης τὸν πατριάρχην ἐξέωσεν αὐτόν· οὐ γὰρ ἠγάπησεν αὐτὸν ὁ μικρὸς Σκεντέρμπεϊς· ἐξέβαλον δὲ αὐτὸν οὐ μόνον τοῦ θρόνου  
25 ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς Πόλεως.

He did not wish to leave the monastery but the fathers in the monastery thought otherwise: "On account of the people, you must go with our blessing." Thus unwillingly he became [metropolitan] of Thessalonike and was later raised to the highest throne of Constantinople. So powerful is virtue.

84. Let me return to my subject. At his death, Lord Symeon left a huge fortune but he had not, in his life, looked after the fortune of the Church. When Lord Nephon came, he refused to receive Skender Beg, the son of Amoiroutzes from Trebizond,<sup>104</sup> who was *hasnatarbas*, his neighbor in the district of Pammakaristos. The latter realized that the dead man had no heir and he declared the entire fortune of the dead patriarch and that of the Church as well, property of the sovereign. He said: "In his tenure as patriarch he appropriated sacred vessels; they will now belong to the sovereign." So they took Gospels decorated with jewels, sacred covers of various kinds, and silver crooks; what need is there to go on? Their appropriations came to the amount of one hundred and eighty thousand. They also imprisoned all the officials and there was widespread persecution. The patriarch was at a loss; yet he managed to find witnesses to testify that Basileios was his [Symeon's] nephew, saying that the patriarch was the brother of his mother. This rascal, Skender Beg, was fully aware that the witnesses had not told the truth; for he was the son from a lesser aunt, a nephew. So they arrested the three and cut their noses off. One of them was the priest-monk called Antonios. The sovereign in anger dismissed the patriarch. Because the polluted Skender Beg had no affection for him [Nephon], they expelled him not only from the throne but from the City also.<sup>105</sup>

85. Ἰστατο δὲ ὁ θρόνος ἄνευ πατριάρχου καιρὸν οὐκ ὀλίγον· ἀλλ' οὖν πάλιν εἰσῆι ὁ πατριάρχης ἄνευ βουλῆς τοῦ αὐθεντοῦ μόνον με λόγον τοῦ τευτέρη ὅπως πληρώση τὸ χαρατίζιον· καὶ πάλιν ἐξέωσαν αὐτόν. Ὡρισεν οὖν ὁ αὐθέντης ὅπως ποιήσωσιν 5 ἕτερον πατριάρχην.

86. Ἀπορήσαντες οὖν οἱ κληρικοὶ ἤτήσαντο ὅπως ποιήσωσι πατριάρχην τὸν κύρ Διονύσιον ὄντα ἐν τῇ μονῇ τῆς Κοσινήτζου. Καὶ πορευθέντες μετὰ αὐθεντικοῦ ὀρισμοῦ καὶ μὴ θέλοντα ἔφερον αὐτόν· ἦν γὰρ γηραιὸς λίαν. Ὁ δὲ Κυρίτζης ὑπῆρχεν, 5 ὃς ὦν καὶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς αὐθέντης αὐτοῦ· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἠγόρασεν αὐτόν ἐκ τῆς ἀλώσεως τῆς Πόλεως. Ἦσαν γὰρ ἄπαντα τὰ ἐκκλησιαστικὰ εἰσοδήματα ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτοῦ, ἐν τε εἰσόδοις καὶ ἐξόδοις. Ἦν γὰρ ὁ αὐτὸς πατριάρχης ἄκρος τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ πεπαιδευμένος τὴν μοναχικὴν πολιτείαν ὡς ἄλλος οὐδεὶς· ἦν 10 γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀγρυπνία καὶ στάσις πάννουχος καὶ νηστεία καὶ ἀκτημοσύνη· οὐ γὰρ ἐκάθισεν ἐν ἵππῳ τοῦ πορευθῆναι ποῦ ἀλλὰ πεζοπορῶν ἐπορευέτο. Γεγόνασι δὲ καὶ σεισμοὶ μέγιστοι ἐν τῇ πατριαρχείᾳ αὐτοῦ καὶ περιπατῶν ἐπορευέτο καὶ ἐποίει δεήσεις ἐκ ναοῦ εἰς ναόν, τοὺς ἐγγύς καὶ τοὺς πόρρω, 15 ἀεὶ πεζοπορῶν. Ποιήσας οὖν ἐν τῇ πατριαρχείᾳ ἔτη δύο καὶ μῆνας ἐξ ἐποίησε παραίτησιν.

87. Εἴπωμεν καὶ τὰ γεγονότα ἐν τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ τοῦ σουλτὰν Μπαγιαζήτη. Γέγονε γὰρ πρὸ καιροῦ μάχη μετὰ τῶν Τζιντίδων· ἔστειλε δὲ καὶ ὁ αὐθέντης φουσάτα τῆς Ἀνατολῆς καὶ ἐγένετο πόλεμος εἰς τὰ Ἄτανα ἐν τῇ Καραμανίᾳ. Ἦν γὰρ 5 μπεγλερμπεὶς ὁ Χαρσώγλης, γαμπρὸς ὦν τοῦ αὐθεντοῦ ἐν τῇ θυγατρὶ αὐτοῦ· πολέμου δὲ γενομένου ἐπίασαν αὐτὸν ζῶντα καὶ ἠφάνισαν φουσάτα ἄπειρα αὐτοῦ. Μετὰ δὲ καιροῦ παράδρομῆς γενναμένης ἀπέλυσαν αὐτόν. Γέγονε δὲ καὶ σεισμὸς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει καὶ ἔπεσαν τὰ τεῖχη τῆς Πόλεως ἐν ἔτει 10 ζιζ'. Καὶ ἔπεσαν ἡμεράτια, ναοί, καὶ οἴκοι πολλοὶ ἠφανίσθησαν.

85. The throne remained without a patriarch for quite some time. Again the patriarch returned, without the consent of the sovereign, but only through the word of the *defter* that he would pay the *harac*; again they expelled him. The sovereign ordered them to elect someone else patriarch.

86. The officials were at a loss and they asked to appoint patriarch Lord Dionysios who was in the Monastery of Kosinetzos. They went with an imperial decree and brought him back, even though he was not willing, as he was quite old. Kyritzes, his former master, was still alive; he had bought him after the sack of the City. All the ecclesiastical finances were in his hands, both income and expense. This patriarch was a virtuous man and had surpassed all others in the life of a monk. He remained awake and prayed all night long, fasted, and owned no property. He did not even mount horses but went about on foot. There were many earthquakes during his tenure as patriarch and he went on foot and prayed from church to church, near and far; he always went on foot. After he had been patriarch for two years and six months, he resigned.

87. Let me also mention the events in the reign of Sultan Bayezid. When, some time ago, there was a battle against the Tzintides, the sovereign sent the armies of Anatolia; there was a battle fought at Attana in Karamania. Harsoglu was the *beglerbeg*, the son-in-law of the sovereign, whose daughter he had married. During the battle he was captured alive while countless soldiers of his army perished. After some time had passed they released him.<sup>106</sup> An earthquake took place in Constantinople; the walls of the City fell in the year 7017 [AD 1501]; there also fell mosques and churches and many houses were destroyed.

88. Ἐν ἐκείνοις δὲ τοῖς καιροῖς ἀνεφάνη τις ἐκ Περσίας ὀνόματι Σάχ Κουλής, δοῦλος τοῦ Σάχ Ἰσμαήλ, μετὰ ὀρμῆς μεγάλης ἔχων δὲ λαὸν οὐκ ὀλίγον ἐκ τε Καραμανίας καὶ ἐκ τῶν Βαρσάκιδων καὶ Τουλκατηριτίδων ἑλθὼν μέχρι Κονιατίου ἔχων  
 5 λαὸν μέχρι καὶ χιλιάδων κ'. ὅθεν ἐξελθὼν ὁ μπεγλερμπεῖς ὀνόματι Καραγκιόζ πασιᾶς καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ σουλτάν Μπαγιαζήτης ἀπέστειλε τὸν Ἄλῃ πασιᾶ μετὰ γενιτζάρων καὶ σπαχίδων καὶ φουσαῖτα τῆς Ἀνατολῆς. Αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἐδειλίασεν ἀλλ' ἴστατο περιμένων ἄνευ τινὸς φόβου ἀρπάζων  
 10 καὶ ἀφανίζων τὰ ἐγγύς καὶ τὰ πόρρω. Ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ πασιᾶς ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἐποίησεν εὐθέως πόλεμον ἀλλ' ἐμήνυσε τοὺς σουμπάσιδες καὶ μεγιστᾶνας τῶν Καραμανιτῶν καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτοῖς δωρεὰς καὶ ἱμάτια ὅπως πιάσωσιν αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς χερσίν, εἰπόντων ὅτι ὁ Σάχ Κουλής εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔχει θάρρος ὅπως βοηθήσωμεν αὐτῷ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ· καὶ ἡμεῖς πιάσαντες αὐτὸν ζῶντα δώσωμεν ἐν ταῖς χερσίν δέσμιον.

89. Πιστεύσας οὖν αὐτοῖς δέδωκε πόλεμον μετ' αὐτοῦ· οἱ δὲ Καραμανλιῆδες ἦσαν καὶ ἐκ τῶν δύο μερῶν, δεικνύοντες ὅτι βοηθῶσι τοὺς Ὀτμανλίδες ἔφευγον καὶ αὐτοὶ· καὶ νικᾷ ὁ Σάχ Κουλής καὶ ἀπέκοψαν τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ πασιᾶ. Καὶ πάλιν στρέφοντες οἱ Καραμανιῶται συνάπτουσι πόλεμον μετὰ Σάχ Κουλή καὶ ἐνίκησαν αὐτὸν καὶ ἔφυγε· καὶ ἄραντες καὶ τῶν δύο μερῶν τὰς τε σκευὰς καὶ ἄρματα καὶ ἵππους καὶ καμήλους ἐπορεύθησαν οἴκαδε.

88. At that time there rose an individual in Persia called Shah Kuli, a servant of Shah Ismail; with great force and with a large army from Karamania and from the Barsakides and the Dulka-dirtides he came as far as Ikonion; his army numbered up to twenty thousand men. For this reason a *beglerbeg* called Karagöz Pasha and his men prepared to meet him. When Sultan Bayezid was informed, he sent Ali Pasha with the janissaries, the *sipahi*, and the armies of Anatolia. But he was not alarmed; he stood his ground while he waited and looted and destroyed the vicinity and the remote regions. When the pasha came to those places he did not seek an immediate engagement; he wrote to the *subasi* and the magnates of Karamania and gave gifts and clothes to them, asking them to capture him and deliver him to his hands; they maintained: "Shah Kuli relies on us to help him in the war; when we seize him, we will deliver him into your hands bound."

89. He believed them and fought a battle against him. The Karamanli were on both sides, indicating that they were helping the Osmanlis; they fled also. So Shah Kuli won and beheaded the pasha. Again the Karamanli turned back and fought against Shah Kuli and defeated him; he fled. They took the equipment, weapons, horses, and camels that belonged to both sides and returned home.

90. Ὁ δὲ σουλτάν Μπαγιαζήτης γέγονε κλινήριος· ἐκυρίευσεν γὰρ αὐτὸν ὁ ῥευματισμὸς ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ σώματι. Ἔδοξε γὰρ αὐτῷ ὅπως δῶναι τὴν ἡγεμονίαν πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν σουλτάν Ἀχουμάτ ἔτι ζῶντος αὐτοῦ. Ὡν δὲ ὁ σουλτάν Σελίμης ἡγε-  
 5 μονεύων ἐν τῇ Τραπεζούντᾳ ἔμαθε τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ βουλὴν, ὅπως οἰκονομῆ δοῦναι τὴν αὐθεντίαν πρὸς τὸν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφόν· καὶ πρῶτον ἠτήσατο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ Καφᾶ καὶ τῆς Περαιτείας πάσης δοῦναι τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ τῷ σουλτάν Σου-  
 10 λειμάνῃ· ἔλαβε δὲ αὐτήν. Ἐποίησε δὲ τοῦτο τεχνήντως ἵνα, ὅταν μάθῃ ἀκριβῶς ὅτι ἐτοιμάζεται ἡ σκευωρία (ἔσχε γὰρ κατασκόπους ἐν τῇ Πόλει καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀμασειᾷ μαθαίνοντας τὰς βουλὰς καὶ πράξεις), καὶ αὐτὸς πορευθεὶς ἐν τῷ Καφᾷ ἵστατο ἀναμένων τί ἂν γένηται.

91. Ὡς δὲ ἔμαθεν ὅτι ἤδη γέγονεν, ἄρας φουσάτον ἐκ τῶν Σκυθῶν τοῦ Χάνη καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους τῆς πόρτας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐτέρους παρεισάκτους ἐπορεύθη ἐκ τῆς στερέας μετὰ τοσοῦτου φουσάτου τοὺς τραχεῖς καὶ δυσβάτους τόπους καὶ τοὺς μεγίστους ποταμοὺς ἐκείνους ἐν ὥρᾳ χειμερινῇ· κατήντησεν ἐν τῷ Κελλί καὶ Ἀσπροκάστρω.

92. Ὁ δὲ σουλτάν Ἀχουμάτης μηνυθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἦλθε μέχρι Πόλεως ἄντικρυ ἐν τῷ λεγομένῳ Βρία· καὶ ἔλθων νυκτὸς κρυφίως εὐρέθη μετὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ· οὐ γὰρ ἠγάπουν αὐτὸν οἱ γενήτζαροι ὡς ὅτι οὐκ εἶδον ἐξ αὐτοῦ βοήθειαν ὅτε  
 5 ἐπολέμησαν μετὰ τοῦ Σάχ Κουλιῆ. Ἀλλ' οὖν οὐκ ἦν ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ λαβεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν· ὅθεν ὑποστρέψας πάλιν ἀπῆλθεν ἐν τῇ Ἀμασειᾷ κενὸς μηδὲν διαπραξάμενος.

90. Sultan Bayezid was taken ill to bed; rheumatism affected his entire body. He thought of handing over the kingdom to his son Sultan Ahmed, while he was still alive. But Sultan Selim, who was governing Trebizond, discovered his father's intentions, that he would pass the kingdom to his brother. So he first asked that the governorship of Caffa and the entire Perateia be given to his son Suleyman; he took them over. He arranged this with skill: when he discovered the exact time of the transfer of power (he had spies in the City and in Amaseia, taking note of decisions and actions), he himself went to Caffa and waited for further developments.

91. When he discovered that it had already taken place, he led an army composed of the Scythians of the Han and his men from his own Porte, as well as some other unattached individuals, and marched by land with his troops over rough and difficult terrain; he crossed rivers, which had become torrents during the winter, and ended up in Kellion and Asprokastron.<sup>107</sup>

92. Sultan Ahmed, who had received a message from his father, came and camped opposite the City in a place called Bria; he came during the night and met his father secretly because the janissaries had no affection for him; he had not helped them when they had fought against Shah Kuli. But God did not grant him the kingship; so he departed and returned to Amaseia empty-handed; he had accomplished nothing.

93. Ὁ δὲ σουλτάν Σελίμης ἦλθεν ἐν τῇ Ἀδριανουπόλει· μαθὼν δὲ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ὡς ἀδεῶς καὶ φανερώς βούλεται κυριαῦσαι, ἐξῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς Πόλεως μετὰ καὶ τῆς πόρτας αὐτοῦ καὶ μερικοῦ φουσατοῦ τοῦ εὐρεθέντος ὅπως ἀκούσας ἀποδράσει φοβηθείς. Αὐτὸς δὲ οὐδόλως ἐδειλίασεν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἐπορεύετο μεθ' ὄρμης τοῦ πολεμησίου αὐτὸν ὡς ὑπεναντίον τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ. Ὁθεν ὁ σουλτάν Μπαγιαζήτης ἐσκήνωσεν ἐγγὺς χωρίου τοῦ λεγομένου Σιρτάκιοι πλησίον τοῦ ποταμοῦ. Ὁ δὲ σουλτάν Σελίμης ἦλθε καὶ αὐτὸς μετὰ τοῦ φουσατοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐσκήνωσε καὶ αὐτὸς ἀναισχύντως ἀντίκρου ζητῶν πόλεμον φανερώς. Πρωίως οὖν γεναμένης συνάπτει πόλεμον ὁ γηραιός· οὐ γὰρ ἐκάθισεν ἐν ἵππῳ ἐκ πολλοῦ, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀμάξῃ σύροντες ἵπποι. Ὡς δὲ ἔστησαν τὰ φουσατά ἐξ ἑκατέρου μέρους, ἦν γὰρ ἀγᾶς τῶν γενητζάρων, νεύσας οὖν τὴν ἀμαξάν ἐπορεύθη ἐπάνω τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ. Εἰ γὰρ ἠθέλησεν ὁ αὐθέντης ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτόν· ἀλλὰ δόντες δρόμον πάλιν οἱ γενήτζαροι ἔφυγον ἐκ μέσου αὐτῶν. Πόλεμου οὖν σφοδροῦ γενομένου ἀπέδρασεν ὁ σουλτάν Σελίμης καὶ ὤρμησεν πάντες φευγεῖν· καὶ διώκοντες αὐτούς, τοὺς μὲν ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ ἔφερον ζῶντας· καὶ ἦν ἰδεῖν αὐτούς φεύγοντας ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι καὶ βουνοῖς τῆς Μαύρης Θαλάσσης, γυμνοὺς καὶ ἀσκεπεῖς, οἱ πλείονες δὲ καὶ πεζοποροῦντες· εὐρίσκοντες γὰρ αὐτούς οἱ ἐντόπιοι ἐκδύοντες αὐτούς ἀπέλυνον. Ὁ δὲ σουλτάν Σελίμης φεύγων ἦλθεν εἰς λιμένα ἐν τῇ Μηδεῖα καὶ εὐρῶν πλοῖον ἀνέβη ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ἦλθεν ἐν τῇ Βάρνη μετὰ μερικῶν ἀνθρώπων ἰδίων αὐτοῦ. Ὁ δὲ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ ἦν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ οὗ ἐγεγόνει ὁ πόλεμος καὶ τοὺς ζῶντας οὐσπερ ἔφερον ἐκ τῶν ἐκλεκτῶν αὐτοῦ ἀνθρώπων ἀπεκεφάλισε ἅπαντας.

93. Sultan Selim came to Adrianople. When his father was informed that he intended to become lord openly and that he showed no fear, he left the City in the company of his Porte and with part of the army that happened to be present, fearing that he would escape, as it was rumored. But he showed no cowardice; on the contrary, he marched with eagerness to engage him, regarding his own father as an enemy. Sultan Bayezid pitched his tents near a village called Sirtaköy, next to a river. Sultan Selim also arrived with his forces and, without shame, he pitched his tents across, challenging him to battle. Next morning, the aged man gave the sign for the attack. He had not mounted a horse for some time; so he was in a wagon pulled by horses. When both sides had formed their lines, the aga of the janissaries nodded to the wagon and gave the signal for the attack. If the sovereign had wished it, he could have put him to death. But the janissaries gave way and allowed him to slip through their midst. During the fierce battle Sultan Selim escaped; all fled; in the pursuit, some were killed and others were brought back alive. One could see refugees fleeing around the mountains and ranges around the Black Sea, without equipment or clothes; most went on foot. When the local inhabitants came upon them, they took their clothes and then released them. So Sultan Selim fled and came to a harbor in Media; he found a boat, boarded with members of his retinue, and went to Varna. His father remained at the site of the battle and inspected his captives. He executed the most distinguished prisoners among those whom they had captured alive.<sup>108</sup>

94. Ὁ δὲ σουλτὰν Σελίμης πάλιν ἐπεραιώθη ἐν τῷ Καφᾶ· ἠφάνισται γὰρ πᾶσα ἡ ἰσχὺς αὐτοῦ· ἀπώλεσε γὰρ ἅπαντας τὰς σκηναὶς καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἄρματα καὶ ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐκλεκτοτέρους. Ὁ δὲ σουλτὰν Μπαγιαζήτης ἦλθεν ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει. Ἄλλ' ὅρα τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ· τίς γὰρ φησιν ἔγνω νοῦν Κυρίου ἢ τίς σύμβουλος αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο; Ἄμα τοῦ ἐλθεῖν τὸν αὐθέντην ἐν τῇ Πόλει ἐποίησαν βουλὴν οἱ γενίτζαροι ὅπως αἰρήσονται τὸν σουλτὰν Σελίμην ἀρχηγὸν τοῦ στρατεύειν καὶ περιπατεῖν ἐν πολέμοις λέγοντες ὅτι ὁ αὐθέντης ἐστὶ γέρων καὶ ἀσθενὴς καὶ οὐ δύναται στρατεύειν μεθ' ἡμῶν· καθιζέσθω οὖν ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡμεῖς μετὰ τοῦ σουλτὰν Σελίμη πορευσώμεθα κατὰ τῶν ὑπεναντίων· οὐ γὰρ ἠθέλομεν καθέζεσθαι ἄνευ πολέμων καὶ κερδῶν. Ἀνήφερον δὲ τὸν αὐθέντην ὅτι οὕτως αἰτοῦσι οἱ δοῦλοί σου. Ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀπεδέχθη τὴν αἴτησιν αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ βαρῶς ἤκουσεν. Ἰδόντες δὲ οἱ γενίτζαροι ὅτι οὐκ ἀκούει αὐτοῖς, στασιάσαντες καὶ εἰς ἕν γεγονότες τοῦ ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς βεζηρίδες καὶ κουρσεύσωσι καὶ τὴν Πόλιν. Μὴ ἔχων δὲ ὁ αὐθέντης ὅ,τι καὶ δράσειεν καὶ ἄκων ἔστερξεν ὅπως φέρωσιν αὐτόν. Τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἠγάπησεν ὁ λαὸς ἅπας αὐτόν ὥς καὶ παῖδες καὶ παιδίσκαι καὶ βρέφη ἐλάλου τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ.

94. Sultan Selim returned to Caffa; his entire force had been eliminated; he had lost all tents, horses, weapons, and his most distinguished men. Sultan Bayezid came to Constantinople. Observe now God's intentions; for who can say that he knows the Lord's mind? Who has become His councillor? After the sovereign's return to the City, the janissaries decided to elect Sultan Selim commander-in-chief in all expeditions, saying: "The sovereign is old and weak; he is not able to go to war with us. Let him take over the throne and we, together with Sultan Selim, will march against our opponents; for we dislike leisure, marked by the absence of war and of profit." Thus they reported to the sovereign: "This is your slaves' wish." He heard them but he rejected their proposal; he listened to their words with a heavy heart. When the janissaries realized that he would not follow their suggestion, they rioted, gathered together, decided to kill the viziers, and wished to loot the City. The sovereign was at a loss and unwillingly gave permission to bring him back. All the people had great affection for him; boys, girls, and even infants spoke his name.<sup>109</sup>

95. Δραμόντες γὰρ μετὰ σπουδῆς τοῦ ἐνεγκεῖν αὐτὸν ἔδραμε  
καὶ ὁ ἕτερος υἱὸς τοῦ αὐθεντοῦ ὁ σουλτάν Κουρκούτης αἰφνιδίως  
ἐκ Μαγνησίας καὶ εὐρέθη ἐν τῇ Πόλει ἐν τοῖς τῶν γενητζάρων  
ὄντασι· καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν ἐξεπλάγησαν. Λέγει γὰρ πρὸς αὐτοὺς  
5 μετὰ δακρύων ὅτι ἐγὼ ἤξεύρετε πῶς ἔχω δίκαιον ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων  
μου ἀδελφῶν ὅπως ἐκαθέσθην εἰς τὸν θρόνον τοῦ πάππου μου  
ὅταν ἀπέθανεν ἕως οὗ ἦλθεν ὁ πατήρ· καὶ εἶχον θάρβος εἰς  
ὑμᾶς τοῦ εὐρεῖν βοήθειαν ἐξ ὑμῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἐξέρχομαι ἔτι ἐκ  
10 τῆς Πόλεως· βέλτιόν μοι ἐστὶν ἀποθανεῖν ἐνταῦθα ἢ ἐν τῇ Μα-  
γνησίᾳ. Ταῦτα δὲ καὶ πλείονα λέξας πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετὰ δα-  
κρύων, οὐκ ἔσχεν αὐτοὺς πειθομένους ὡς ὅτι ἐκ τῶν γαμπά-  
σιδων καὶ τῶν τζαχαγιάδων ἐπορεύθησαν τοῦ ἐνεγκεῖν τὸν  
σουλτάν Σελίμην. Εἶπον οὖν πρὸς αὐτόν· καλὸν ἦν, εἰ οὐκ  
ἠτήσαμεν ἐκείνων· ἀλλ' οὖν οὐ δυνάμεθα ποιεῖν ἀλλοτρόπως,  
15 ὅτι καὶ οἱ καλλιστεῦοντες ἡμῶν ἐπορεύθησαν τοῦ συγχαριᾶ-  
σαι αὐτῷ· εἰ γὰρ ἐλθεῖν εἶχες πρὸ τοῦ ἡμᾶς αὐτὸν αἰτήσα-  
σθαι, εἶχομεν ποιῆσαι τὸ σὸν θέλημα· τανῦν δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν δυ-  
νατὸν βοηθησαί σοι. Ἀκούσας δὲ τὴν τῶν γενητζάρων ἀπο-  
λογίαν, οὐκ εἶχεν ὅ,τι καὶ δράσειεν· ὅμως πορευθεὶς προσε-  
20 κύνησε τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ κλαίων καὶ ὀδυρόμενος. Ἄλλ' οὐδὲ  
ἐξ' αὐτοῦ εὔρε θεραπείαν. Ἀπορήσας οὖν ἐκ πάντων πάλιν  
ἐπορεύθη ἐν τῇ Μαγνησίᾳ βουλόμενος ἀντιμαχήσασθαι ἐτοι-  
μάζων καὶ εὐτρεπιζόμενος τάχα εἰς τὸ δοκοῦν. Οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἐκ  
Θεοῦ τοῦ ἡγεμονεῦσαι· πᾶν γὰρ δῶρημα τέλειον ἄνωθέν ἐστιν.

95. While they were gone to bring him back in haste, the other  
son of the sovereign, Sultan Korkud, suddenly came from  
Magnesia and went into the *odas* of the janissaries. When they  
saw him, they were surprised. He spoke to them with tears in  
his eyes: "You know that the throne is rightfully mine; it does  
not belong to my brothers. After all, I had sat on the throne  
of my grandfather until my father arrived. I hoped to receive  
support from you; I will not leave the City again; it is better  
for me to die here rather than in Magnesia." He spoke at length  
in this manner, with tears in his eyes, but he was unable to per-  
suade them, as some of the *yabas* and the *cahayas* had already  
left to bring Sultan Selim back. They responded to him: "It  
would have been different, if we had not asked for him; as things  
now are, there is nothing we can do; our best men have gone  
to congratulate him. Had you come to us before we presented  
our petition, we would have done as you wish. It is not possible  
to help you now." After he heard the response of the janissaries,  
he was at a loss; he went, however, and paid his respects to his  
father in tears and mourning. He found no comfort from him.  
After he had exhausted all possibilities, he returned to Magnesia;  
as he wished to fight back, he made the necessary preparations  
for his attempt.<sup>10</sup> But God would not grant him the kingdom;  
for every high gift has a heavenly origin.

96. Φέροντες γὰρ τὸν σουλτὰν Σελίμην οἱ ἀποσταλέντες καὶ ὅταν ἐπλησίασαν ἐγγὺς ἐπορεύθη πᾶς ὁ λαὸς καὶ ὑπὴντου αὐτόν, καὶ οἱ μεγιστάνες ἅπαντες τῆς πόρτας. Ἐβρίφη δὲ τὰς σκηνὰς καὶ τὸν λαὸν ἅπαντα ἐντὸς τῆς Πόλεως εἰς τὸ Γενήμπαχτζα. Ποιήσας δὲ ἡμέρας τινὰς ἅπαντες ἤρχοντο καθ' ἑκάστην προσκυνοῦντες αὐτόν, ἀφέντες τὸν γηραιὸν αὐθέντην μόνον. Ἐν μιᾷ οὖν ἡμέρᾳ ὄπλισθέντες οἱ γενήτζαροι τὸν ἀριθμὸν χιλιάδες δέκα ἐπορεύθησαν ἐν τῷ σαραγίῳ ἀπαιτοῦντες τοὺς πασιάδες ἵνα εἴπωσι τὸν γηραιὸν αὐθέντην ὅπως δώῃ τὴν αὐθεντίαν πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ. Ἦσαν δὲ πασιάδες ὁ Μουσταφᾶ πασιᾶς καὶ ὁ Χαρσεόγλης· ἠνάγκασαν δὲ αὐτοὺς τοσοῦτον, ὡς ἐὰν οὐ ποιήσωσι τὸ ἑαυτῶν θέλημα, ἀποκτενῶσι αὐτοὺς καὶ τὴν Πόλιν ἔρημον θήσωσι. Ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ βεζήριδες ἐκ τοῦ φόβου αὐτῶν οὐκ εἶχον τί δρᾶσαι φοβούμενοι καὶ αὐτοὺς καὶ εὐλαβοῦμενοι καὶ τὸν γηραιόν· πῶς γὰρ ἔμελλον εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ ἵνα παρητήσῃται τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ ζῶν; Εἰσέεισαν οὖν καὶ ἄκοντες ἀνήφερον τὸν γηραιὸν αὐθέντην ἅπαντα τὰ γενόμενα, καὶ ὅπως ἴστανται οἱ γενήτζαροι μετὰ ὅπλων ἡμᾶς περιμένοντες, καὶ ἐὰν οὐ ποιήσῃς τὸ θέλημα αὐτῶν μέλλουσι καὶ σὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς ἀποκτείνειν καὶ ποιῆσαι ὡς θέλουσι. Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ αὐθέντης βαρέως ἀπεδέχθη καὶ δακρύσας καταγράσατο τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ· οἱ δὲ γενήτζαροι ἐβόων ἕξω ἐστῶτες καὶ περιμένοντες ὡσπερ ἄγριοι θῆρες. Ἠρώτησε ὁ αὐθέντης ὅτι ἄνευ τῶν γενητζάρων οἱ ἕτεροι τί λέγουσι περὶ τούτου; Εἶπον δὲ οἱ βεζήριδες ὅτι ἐξέκλιναν ἅπαντες μικροὶ τε καὶ μεγάλοι. Μὴ ἔχων δὲ τί ποιῆσαι καὶ ἄκων δέδωκε πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν βασιλείαν ἐν ἔτει ζκ' μηνὶ Ἀπριλίῳ κδ'.

96. The emissaries brought Sultan Selim back; when they drew near, all the people came out to greet him, including all the magnates of the Porte. He placed all this tents and men within the City, in Yenibahça, where he spent a few days. He was visited by all who came daily to pay their respects, leaving the old sovereign alone. One day the janissaries, ten thousand strong, armed themselves and marched into the seraglio; they demanded that the pashas tell the aged sovereign to give the kingdom to his son. Mustafa and Harsoglu were the pashas, whom they threatened to kill and to turn the City into a desert, if their demands were not met. The viziers heard their words and were paralyzed with fear; they were afraid of them and at the same time they had respect for the aged man. How could they suggest to him to give up his throne while he was still alive? They entered and unwillingly reported the events outside to the old sovereign; "The janissaries are ready with their weapons, waiting for us; if you fail to grant their wish, they will kill you and us and they will do as they please." He listened to them and granted their wish with a heavy heart. With tears in his eyes did he curse his own son, while the janissaries outside were shouting and were behaving as if they were wild beasts. Then the sovereign asked: "Apart from the janissaries, what do the others have to say about this?" The viziers responded: "All lesser and higher officials are inclined to support them." There was nothing else for him to do and he unwillingly assigned the realm to him on the twenty-fourth of April in the year 7020 [AD 1512].<sup>111</sup>



97. Ἄμα δὲ πρῶτῳ ἄρναντες αὐτὸν οἱ ἐν τέλει τῆς πόρτας βεζή-  
 ριδες καὶ ἀγάδες καὶ πλῆθος λαοῦ ἐπορεύθη πρὸς τὸν πατέρα  
 αὐτοῦ καὶ προσεκύνησε καὶ ἠσπάσατο τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ· καὶ  
 δέδωκε καὶ ἄκων πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν αὐτοῦ. Αὐτὸς δὲ  
 5 ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τῆς Πόλεως ἐπορεύθη ἐν τῷ Διδυμοτείχῳ· καὶ  
 ἅμα ἐν τῷ πορευθῆναι ἐν τρισὶν ἑβδομάσιν ἐτελεύτησεν· καὶ  
 ἔφερον τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Πόλει καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ  
 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κτισθέντι ἱμαρατίῳ. Ἐφημίσθη γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πλείοσιν  
 ὡς ὁ Γιονοῦζ πασιᾶς ἐφαρμάκευσε αὐτόν· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἦν ὡς  
 10 δοξάζουσιν ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς χολῆς καὶ τῆς περιφρονήσεως ἐτελεύ-  
 τησεν. Ἦν γὰρ ἐκ τοῖς καιροῖς αὐτοῦ διάγων ἐν εἰρήνῃ, κερ-  
 δῶντες ἅπαντες καὶ σπαταλῶντες. Ἦν γὰρ ταπεινόφρων καὶ  
 εἰρηνικὸς καὶ δικαιοτάτος· καὶ ἐκ τῆς πολλῆς αὐτοῦ ταπεινώ-  
 σεως ἐποίησαν οἱ γενήτισταὶ πολλὰς ἀταξίας· ἐπάτησαν γὰρ  
 15 καὶ οἰκίας οὐ μόνον Ἑβραίων ἀλλὰ καὶ βεζήριδων καὶ ἤρπασαν  
 τοὺς βίους αὐτῶν.

98. Εἰπώμεν καὶ τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας. Ἐποίησε γὰρ παραίτησιν  
 ὁ κῦρ Διονύσιος, ὡς προείπομεν· γέγονε δὲ πατριάρχης ὁ  
 Σεβέρων, ᾧ ὄνομα Μανασσῆς, μετονομάσαντες αὐτὸν Μάξιμον·  
 ἦν γὰρ Ἁγιορίτης. Γέγονε δὲ φήμη κατ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὕβριζον  
 5 αὐτὸν δικαίως ἢ ἀδίκως (αὐτὸς γὰρ οἶδε τοῦ δοῦναι λόγον  
 ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς κρίσεως). Ἐποίησε δὲ ἐν τῇ πατριαρχείᾳ ἔτη  
 ἕξ· καὶ γεγονότων σκανδάλων μετὰ τινος μοναχοῦ ὀνόματι  
 Γαβριήλ, ἐξέωσαν αὐτὸν καὶ πάλιν ἔφερον τὸν κῦρ Νήφωνα  
 καὶ ἐποίησεν ἔτος ἕν. Καὶ πάλιν ἐξέωσαν αὐτόν, γεγονότων  
 10 σκανδάλων οὐκ ὀλίγων ἐκ τε τοῦ Μανασσῆ τοῦ πρὸ αὐτοῦ  
 πατριάρχου καὶ ἐτέρων μητροπολιτῶν τῶν μὴ θελώντων αὐτόν,  
 καὶ γέγονε πατριάρχης ὁ Δράμας Ἰωακείμ· ἦν γὰρ τοῦ κυροῦ  
 Διονυσίου καλόγερος, νέος ἄνθρωπος ὢν, ἀγαθὸς τῇ γνώμῃ  
 καὶ χρησιμώτατος λίαν· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ιδιώτης ἦν ἀλλ' ἡγαπᾶτο  
 15 ὑπὸ πάντων. Ἐπορεύθη δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἰβερίᾳ καὶ ἐλθὼν μετὰ βίου

97. In the morning, accompanied by officials of the Porte, viziers, agas, and many citizens, he went to see his father; he paid his respects and kissed his hands. Reluctantly he handed the realm over to him. He departed from the City and went to Didymoteichos. Three weeks after his departure, he died. His remains were brought to the City and were buried in the mosque that he had built. There was a widespread rumor that Yunuz Pasha had poisoned him. Contrary to the popular belief, however, this was not the cause of death. He died of spite and disdain. During his reign he had remained in peace, for the most part. All profitted and gained. He was humble, peaceful, and most just. On account of the humble traits in his character the janissaries rioted often; they looted houses that belonged not only to Jews but to viziers also; they snatched their fortunes.<sup>112</sup>

98. Let me mention the ecclesiastical affairs also. Lord Dionysios resigned, as I mentioned earlier, and Manasses of Serres became patriarch with the name Maximos;<sup>113</sup> he was from the Holy Mountain. There was a rumor against him, however, and he was cursed justly or unjustly (only he knows when he will answer in the day of judgment). He was patriarch for six years before he was expelled on account of scandals involving a monk by the name of Gabriel. Once more they brought Lord Nephon back and he was the patriarch for one year. Again they expelled him, since there were scandals created by Manasses, the former patriarch, and by some other metropolitans who did not want him. So Ioakeim of Drama became patriarch.<sup>114</sup> He was one of the monks of Lord Dionysios; he was a young man, with a sensible mind; as he made himself very useful, he was liked by everybody, even though his life was private. He traveled to Iberia

ἀπείρου οὐκ εἶασαν αὐτὸν εἰρηνεῦν ἀλλὰ τις μητροπολίτης  
 Σηλυβρίας, καθαιρεθείς διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν φαυλόβιον καὶ  
 αἰσχρόν, πορευθείς ἐποίησε προσθήκην ἐν τῷ χαρατζίῳ φλωρία  
 χιλία. Μὴ θέλων δὲ ὁ Ἰωακεῖμ στέρξαι αὐτά, ἔστερξαν αὐτά  
 20 ὅ τε λαὸς καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ἐξέωσαν τὸν Σηλυβρίας· καὶ  
 πάλιν εἰσηλθεν ὁ Ἰωακεῖμ.

99. Ὁλίγου δὲ καιροῦ παρελθόντος γέγονε ἔτι τοιοῦτον. Ὁ  
 γὰρ σουλτὰν Μπαγιαζήτης ἔτι ζῶν ἐπορεύετο ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι  
 τοῦ Χρυσοκεράμου καὶ θεωρεῖ ἐν ὀπίτιον μετὰ κεράμου· ἠρώ-  
 τησε δέ· τί ἐστί τοῦτο; Εἶπον οὖν αὐτῷ ὅτι ἐκκλησία ἐστί τῶν  
 5 χριστιανῶν. ἠρώτησε δὲ τοὺς ἐντοπίους ἀνθρώπους ὅτι ἐκ-  
 κλησίαν ταύτην τίς ἔδωσε θέλημα ἵνα κτίσῃτε αὐτήν; Αὐτοὶ  
 δὲ ἐν ἀπλότῃτι εἶπον ὡς μετὰ βουλῆς τοῦ πατριάρχου. Καὶ  
 ὤρισεν ὅπως ποιήσωσιν ἕτερον. Ἔστειλεν οὖν κληρικούς πρὸς  
 τὸν κϋρ Νήφωνα ὄντα ἐν τῇ Βλαχία καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἔλθειν.  
 10 Ἐγένετο οὖν σύνοδος καὶ ἐποίησαν πατριάρχη τὸν κϋριν Πα-  
 χώμιον μητροπολίτην ὄντα Ζιχνῶν. Ἐποίησε δὲ χρόνον ἕνα  
 καὶ πάλιν τινες λαῖκοι φίλοι τοῦ Ἰωακεῖμ ἐποίησαν ὅπως ἐξ  
 οἰκειῶν ὑπαρχόντων δώσωσι τὸν αὐθέντην φλωρία πεντακά-  
 15 σια καὶ δῶν αὐτοῖς πάλιν τὸν Ἰωακεῖμ πατριάρχη. Ἐγένε-  
 το δὲ μετὰ σκευωρίας κρυφίως τοῦ Ἰωακεῖμ· καὶ ἐξέωσαν πάλ-  
 λιν τὸν Παχώμιον. Ἐλαβε δὲ πάλιν τὸν θρόνον ὁ Ἰωακεῖμ  
 καὶ ὡς ἐν δλίγῳ ἐπορεύθη ἐν τῇ Μολδοβλαχία πρὸς τὸν Μπόγ-  
 δανον· αὐτὸς δὲ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν κἀν ἰδεῖν αὐτόν· ἔλθων δὲ ἐν  
 τῇ Βλαχία εἰς τὸ Δρογόβιστον ἐκ τῆς χολῆς καὶ περιφρονη-  
 20 σεως ἀκαεῖ ἐτελεύτησε. Καὶ ἀνεβιβάσθη εἰς τὸν θρόνον ὁ Πα-  
 χώμιος πάλιν. Ἐχει γὰρ Θεὸς ἔκδικον ὄμμα.

and returned with a huge fortune but they did not leave him  
 in peace. The metropolitan of Selybria, who had been deposed  
 because of his perverse and shameless nature, came and prom-  
 ised to add one thousand florins to the *harac*. As Ioakeim did  
 not wish to agree to this, the people and the high clergy con-  
 sented and they expelled the metropolitan of Selybria. Once more  
 Ioakeim returned.

99. A short time later, this event took place: Sultan Bayezid,  
 who was still alive, was passing through the vicinity of Chrysoke-  
 ramos, when he saw a house with tiles. He asked: "What is this  
 building?" The told him that it was a Christian church. He then  
 asked the local inhabitants: "Who allowed you to build this  
 church?" They, in their simplicity, said that the patriarch had  
 permitted them. He issued an order that another patriarch be  
 appointed. He sent a number of officials to Lord Nephon who  
 was in Wallachia but he did not wish to return. A synod was  
 convened and Lord Pachomios,<sup>115</sup> the metropolitan of Zichnai,  
 was made patriarch. He had been patriarch for one year, when  
 some lay friends of Ioakeim arranged to pay to the sovereign  
 five hundred florins from their own funds in order to restore  
 Ioakeim to the patriarchal throne; this plot took place without  
 the knowledge of Ioakeim. Thus Pachomios was expelled. Io-  
 akeim was raised again to the throne. Shortly, thereafter, he went  
 to Moldavia and Wallachia in order to visit Bodgan, who,  
 however, declined to receive him in his presence. After he came  
 to Tirogoviste in Wallachia he died of spite and disdain. Again  
 Pachomios was raised to the throne. God has an avenging  
 eye!<sup>116</sup>

100. Βασιλεύσας γὰρ ὁ σουλτὰν Σελίμης ἐπορεύθη καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐν τῇ Προύσῃ. Ἦφενον οὖν τοὺς τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ παῖδας ἐκ τῆς Καραμανίας καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν ἅπαντας. Καὶ πορευθεὶς ἐν τῇ Μαγνησίᾳ κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Κουρκουτ Τζελεπή, ὡς οὐκ ἠδυνήθη ἀντιστῆναι αὐτῷ, φυγὰς ὤχχετο ἐν τόποις δυσβάτοις· ἀλλ' οὖν ἀπεπίασεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἀπέπνιξε· καὶ ἔφερον τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Προύσῃ. Ἀπέμεινε δὲ ὁ σουλτὰν Ἀχουμάτης ὁ ἕτερος ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὢν ἐν τῇ Ἀμασίᾳ. Ἐχειμάσε δὲ ἐν τῇ Προύσῃ· εἶτα πορευθεὶς ἐκστρατεύει κατὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ. Αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ σουλτὰν Ἀχουμάτης συνάξας φουσατόν μερικὸν ἐκ τῶν Καραμανιωτῶν καὶ τῆς πόρτας αὐτοῦ ἐξῆλθεν ἀντιμαχήσασθαι, ἐλπίσας ὁ ταλαίπωρος ὅτι εἰσὶ πιστοὶ οἱ Καραμανλίδες. Συστάντος οὖν τοῦ πολέμου, ἀφέντες αὐτὸν ἔφυγον καὶ προσεκύνησαν τὸν σουλτὰν Σελίμην. Καταλειφθεὶς γὰρ μετὰ τῆς πόρτας αὐτοῦ μόνος παρεδόθη καὶ ἄκων· καὶ ἔφερον αὐτὸν ζῶντα πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ, ἀξιῶν ὅπως συντύχη. Οὐ γὰρ ἠθέλησεν ὄλως τοῦ ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν ἀλλὰ νεύσας μόνον ἄραντες ἀπέπνιξαν καὶ τοὺς δύο υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ.

101. Τοιουτρόπως ἐξωλόθρευσε πᾶσαν τὴν γενεάν αὐτοῦ χαίρων καὶ ἀγαλλόμενος ἐν αἱμάτων χύσει καὶ φόνους. Ὑπὴρχε γὰρ φοβερώτατος καὶ δικαιοτάτος ὡσπερ καὶ ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ. Ἄλλ' οὖν ἐβάρυνεν ἅπαν τὸ ὑπήκοον διὰ χρημάτων δόσεις καθ' ἕκαστον χρόνον, πολλάκις καὶ δις τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς καιροῖς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἠπίσταντο τὰς τοιαύτας δόσεις τὰ λεγόμενα σαγλήνια. Ἀπέκτεινε δὲ καὶ τὸν Μουσταφᾶ πασιᾶ ἔχων αὐτὸν ἐν κακίᾳ διὰ τὸν σουλτὰν Ἀχουμάτην ὅπως ἐβουλεύσατο ἵνα δώῃ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον τὸν αὐθεντιαν· ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν Δουκακίνογλη καὶ τὸν Γιουνοὺς πασιᾶ καὶ ἑτέρους ἀναριθμήτους ὧν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀριθμὸς. Κατῆδας καὶ κριτὰς δὲ τοσοῦτον ἐξέωσε καὶ ἐτιμωρήσατο καὶ ἀπέκτεινε πλείστους. Εἰς δὲ τὸ ἡμέτερον γένος ἦν ἀγαθὸς· ἠνέωξε δὲ καὶ ναοὺς οὓς ἀπέκλεισεν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ.

100. After Sultan Selim was enthroned, he went to Prousa. They brought the children of his brother from Karamania and put them all to death. Then he marched to Magnesia to attack his brother Korkud Çelebi; as the latter was unable to resist, he fled and sought shelter in impassable regions. He was captured, however, and was strangled. His body was transported to Prousa.<sup>117</sup> Sultan Ahmed, his other brother, was still in Amaseia. He spent the winter at Prousa. Then he marched against his brother. He, Sultan Ahmed, had gathered an army consisting of individuals from Karamania and from his own Porte; he marched to the conflict. The wretched man had hoped that the Karamanlis could be trusted. During this battle, they deserted and went over to Sultan Selim. Left alone with only his Porte, he surrendered unwillingly and they brought him alive to his brother whom he demanded to see. But he had no wish to meet with him and with a gesture he ordered them to take him away; they strangled him and his two sons.<sup>118</sup>

101. In this manner he destroyed his entire family; he delighted in bloodshed and murder. Like his grandfather, he was most feared but he was also very just. He taxed his subjects heavily every year and, quite frequently, even twice a year; such taxes, known as *saglenia* were not known in his father's reign. He put Mustafa Pasha to death, as he disliked him since the reign of his father, whom he had advised to give the realm to Sultan Ahmed. Similarly, he put to death Dokakinoglu, Yunuz Pasha, and countless others; no accurate tally can be computed. He expelled, punished, and even put to death a great number of *kadi* and judges. To our race he was benevolent; he even opened churches that his father had closed.<sup>119</sup>

102. Ὡς ἐν ὀλίγῳ δὲ στρατεύει ἐν Περσίᾳ εἰς τὸν Σάχ Ἰσμαήλ· οὗτος γὰρ ὁ Σάχ Ἰσμαήλ ὑπῆρχεν υἱὸς τοῦ Σάχ Χαϊντάρ· ὁ δὲ Σάχ Χαϊντάρ ἦν υἱὸς τοῦ Σάχ Τζουνετῆ· ὑπῆρχον δὲ ἐκ γένους καταγόμενοι τοῦ Ἀλῆ· ὁ γὰρ Ἀλῆς ἐκεῖνος ἦν γαμπρὸς τοῦ Μεχεμέτη τοῦ προφήτου αὐτῶν. Ὑπῆρχον δὲ καὶ σεΐτιδες ἔχοντες τεκὲν καὶ χώρας ὅτι πλείστας καὶ λαὸν ἄπειρον. Ὁ πάππος δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ Σάχ Τζουνεῖτης, ἰσταμένης τῆς Τραπεζοῦντας γέγονε θανατικὸν καὶ ἔφυγον ὅ τε βασιλεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄρχοντες εἰς τόπον παράλιον· εἰσπηδήσας γὰρ ὁ Σάχ Τζουναῖτης αἰφνιδίως μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐποίησε θηῆσιν πολλήν, ἀποκτείνας ἅπαντας τοὺς καλλιστεύοντας καὶ ἀνδρείους οὓς εὐρέθησαν ἐν ὕπλοις· ἦσαν γὰρ ἐν ἀμερμινίᾳ καθεύδοντες. Καὶ ἀρπάσας βίον καὶ ἄρματα καὶ ἵππους ἀπέδρασε. Μαθὼν δὲ ὁ σουλτάν Μεχεμέτης ὅτι εἰς ντερβίσης ἐποίησε τιοαύτην νίκην ἐπορεύθη καὶ ἔλαβε τὴν Τραπεζοῦντα. Ἐτελεύτησε δὲ ὁ Σάχ Τζουνεῖτης καταλείψας τὴν ἡγεμονίαν πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Σάχ Χαϊτάρ· οὗτος γὰρ ζητήσας ἵνα δώῃ αὐτῷ δρόμον ὁ Ρουσταῖ μπεῖς, ὁ τοῦ Οὐζοῦν Χασάνη υἱὸς (οὗτος γὰρ ἡγεμονεύων ἐν τῇ Περσίᾳ· ἔσχε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως κυροῦ Δαυίδ θυγατρὸς τῆς δέσποινας Χατοῦς) ὅπως πορευθεὶς αἰχμαλωτίσῃ τὰ μέρη τῆς Τραπεζοῦντας. Ὡς δὲ οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ δρόμον συνῆψε πόλεμον μετ' αὐτοῦ καὶ νικήσας ἀπέκοψε τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σάχ Χαϊτάρ. Ἔσχε δὲ υἱὸν ὁ Σάχ Χαϊτάρ ἐκ τῆς θυγατρὸς τοῦ Οὐζοῦν Χασάνη τὸν Σάχ Ἰσμαήλ· νέος γὰρ ἦν τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀλλ' ἐπιτήδειος ἐν πᾶσιν ἦν κυριεύσας τοὺς τόπους καὶ τὰς χώρας ἃς εἶχον καὶ οἱ πατέρες αὐτοῦ.

102. After a while he marched into Persia against Shah Ismail. This Shah Ismail was the son of Shah Haidar, who, in turn, was the son of Shah Juneid. Their family was descended from Ali, who had been the son-in-law of Mohammed, their prophet. They were sheiks possessing a *teke* and many regions with large populations. Their grandfather was Shah Juneid. Before Trebizond had fallen, there had been a plague and the emperor and all noblemen had moved to a place by the sea; suddenly Shah Juneid attacked with his army and put numerous people to death, killing the foremost citizens and those brave enough to carry arms. They had been at ease and lived without worries. He seized a fortune in horses and weapons before he withdrew. When Sultan Mehmed discovered that a *dervis* had won such a victory, he marched and seized Trebizond. Shah Juneid died afterwards and his realm passed to his son Shah Haidar. This man asked Rusta Beg, the son of Uzun Hasan (he was a leader in Persia; he had him by the daughter of the emperor, Lord David, called Lady Hatun), to allow him passage in order to seize by force the regions of Trebizond. When passage was refused, he fought against him; he defeated and beheaded Shah Haidar. Shah Haidar had a son, Shah Ismail, by the daughter of Uzun Hasan. He was young and talented; he ruled over the lands and regions of his forefathers.<sup>120</sup>

103. Ὁ γὰρ Οὐζοῦν Χασάνης ἔσχε καὶ ἕτερον υἱὸν ὀνόματι Ὀγορλοῦ Μεχεμέτην ἐκ τῆς προτέρας γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ. Καὶ εἰδὼς ὅπως φθονεῖται ὑπὸ τῆς μητριῶς αὐτοῦ, ἐχούσης ἐτέρους υἱούς, ἀπέδρασε φυγῶν καὶ ἐλθὼν πρὸς τὸν σουλτάν Μεχεμέτην δέδωκεν αὐτῷ σκηπτρον πλησίον τῶν ὀρίων τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ· ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ γέγονε κλινῆρης ἵνα, ὅταν τελευτήσῃ, μετὰ βίας τοῦ σουλτάν Μεχεμέτη λάβῃ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ. Γνοῦσα δὲ ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ Οὐζοῦν Χασάν, ἦγουν ἡ μητριὰ αὐτοῦ ἡ δέσποινα Χατοῦν ἔχουσα ὡς προείπομεν υἱούς τρεῖς, φοβουμένη ὅπως μὴ λάβῃ ὁ πρόγονος αὐτῆς τὴν ἡγεμονίαν καὶ ἀποκτείνῃ τοὺς υἱούς αὐτῆς, ἐποίησε σκαιωρίαν οἷα εἰκὸς θαυμάσαι· στείλας γὰρ ταχυδρόμους τάχα ἐκ στόματος τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μετὰ γραφῶν τοῦ ἐλθεῖν διὰ συντόμως, ἡ γὰρ ψυχὴ μου σὲ περιμένει τοῦ ἰδεῖν σε ἐστῶτα ἐν τῷ λαρύγγι μου τοῦ ἐξελθεῖν. Ἀπατηθεὶς οὖν ὁ ταλαίπωρος ἐξῆλθε μετὰ μερικοῦ λαοῦ· αὐτὴ δὲ ἡ Δαλιδὰ ἔστειλε φουσάτα παραγγειλάς τὸν μπεγλερμπεγῆ ὡς ἀπὸ στόματος τοῦ αὐθεντοῦ ὅπως ἀπαντήσῃ τὸν Ὀγορλοῦ Μεχεμέτην ἐρχόμενον ἐκκόψῃ τὴν αὐτοῦ κεφαλὴν· ὃ καὶ ἐποίησεν. Ἡδύνατο γὰρ φυγεῖν ἀλλ' ἤλπισεν ὅτι ἔρχονται εἰς αὐτοῦ ὑπαντήν. Ἄρα δὲ αὐτὴν ὁ μπεγλερμπεγῆς ἤνεγκε πρὸς τὸν Οὐζοῦν Χασάν. Λέγει δὲ αὐτῷ· τί ἐστίν αὕτη; Ἀπεκρίθη ὅτι ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ υἱοῦ σου ἐστίν. Κλαύσας οὖν πικρῶς λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν μετὰ ἀπειλῆς· καὶ τίς σε ἀπέστειλε τοῦ ποιῆσαι τοῦτο, τοῦ ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν υἱόν μου; Λέγει αὐτὸς ὅτι ἡ δέσποινά με ἀπέστειλεν εἰπούσα ὅτι μετὰ τῆς σῆς βουλῆς ἐστί. Ζητήσας γὰρ τὴν δέσποιναν, αὕτη γὰρ ἐκρύβη εἰς ἓν τῶν ταμείων καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἐξελθεῖν. Πολλὰ δὲ φρυάξας καὶ κλαύσας καὶ ἐπαπειλησάμενος οὐδὲν ἴσχυσεν. Τέλος, ὡς φασιν, ἀπέπνιξαν αὐτὸν μετὰ τῶν θερα-  
30 παινίδων αὐτῆς· οὐ γὰρ ἦν ἰσχύς ἐν αὐτῷ.

103. Uzun Hasan also had another son called Mehmed Ugurlu by his former wife. When he saw that his stepmother had no affection for him, since she had her own sons, he fled and went to Sultan Mehmed who gave him a standard near the borders of his father. As his father had been taken to bed ill, the intention was that, on his death, he would take over his father's realm with Sultan Mehmed's support. When Uzun Hasan's wife, i.e., the stepmother, Lady Hatun, who had, as I mentioned earlier, three sons, discovered this, she prepared an admirable plot, as she feared that her stepson might take over the realm and put her sons to death. She dispatched messengers pretending to come from his father with the following letter: "Return as soon as possible; my soul is about to depart and is only postponing the voyage until I have laid eyes upon you." The wretched man was deceived and returned with a small army. But this Delilah of a woman sent an army with orders to the *beglerbeg* (as if they had originated with the sovereign himself) to meet and behead Mehmed Ugurlu on his way; this he did. He could have escaped but he believed that they were coming to meet him. So the *beglerbeg* took his head and brought it to Uzun Hasan, who asked him: "What is this?" He responded: "This is your son's head." He cried bitterly and he said to him with a threat: "And who sent you to do this, to kill my son?" He answered: "The lady sent me, saying that you had agreed to it." He summoned the lady but she hid in a storeroom and refused to come out. He was greatly angered; he cried; he threatened; but he failed to prevail. Finally, as they say, they strangled him with her female attendants. There was no strength in him.<sup>121</sup>

104. Ἐποίησε δὲ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς πρῶτον αὐθέντην τὸν Ῥουστὰ Μπέι· ὀλίγον δὲ βιώσας ἐτελεύτησε καὶ ἔλαβε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὁ ἕτερος υἱὸς αὐτῆς, εἶτα ὁ ἄλλος ὀνόματι Σουλτάν Ἰσοῦφης. Ἀπέθανε δὲ καὶ αὐτῆ. Ταῦτα ἐποίησεν τὸ πονηρὸν γύναιον. Ἐκπεσοῦσα γὰρ ἡ ἡγεμονία ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἐκείνου, οὐκ εἶχον ὅ,τι καὶ δρᾶσειεν.

105. Ὑπῆρχε γὰρ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀποκταθέντος Ὀγουρλοῦ Μεχε-  
μέτη ὀνόματι Ἐμηρζὲς εὐρεθεὶς ἐν τῇ Πόλει. Μετὰ γὰρ τὸ  
ἀποκτανθῆναι τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ φυγῶν ἦλθεν εἰς τὸν σουλ-  
τάν Μπαγιαζίτην· δέδωκε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ  
5 εἰς γυναῖκα· ἔσχε γὰρ τιμὴν καὶ δόξαν οὐ τὴν τυχοῦσαν.  
Ἔστειλαν οὖν πρέσβεις οἱ Πέρσαι πρὸς τὸν αὐθέντην ὅπως  
δώῃ αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι αὐθέντης ἐν πάσῃ τῇ Περσίᾳ ὡς  
ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἐκείνου. Ἀπέστειλε δὲ αὐτὸν παρευθὺς  
μετὰ λαοῦ καὶ δόξης πολλῆς. Καθίσας δὲ ἐν τῷ θρόνῳ ἔστειλεν  
10 λαβεῖν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ στείλας καὶ λίθους βαρυτίμους καὶ  
βίον οὐκ ὀλίγον. Ὅμως ἀπέστειλαν αὐτήν. Πλησιάζης δὲ  
ἐγγὺς τῶν χωρίων τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς, ἦλθεν οὐλάκῃς ὅπως  
ἀπέκτειναν τὸν Ἐμηρζὲ μπέι τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς· ἀκούσασα δὲ  
ἔστράφη πάλιν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα αὐτῆς.

106. Εἶδομεν δὲ ὁ Σάχ Ἰσμαήλ ὅτι ἐγένετο ἡ ἡγεμονία ἐν  
ἀκαταστασίᾳ καὶ οὐκ ἔστι γνήσιος αὐθέντης ἀλλὰ γέγονε πο-  
λυαρχία καὶ σύγχυσις, εἰσπηδήσας ἔλαβε τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἀπο-  
νητί, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπῆρχεν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Οὐζζοῦν Χασάνη  
5 θυγατρὸς υἱός. Ἐκυρίευσεν δὲ τόπους καὶ χώρας ἕως τοῦ Χο-  
ρασάν καὶ Βαβυλῶνος καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν Σχυθῶν καὶ τῆς  
Κασπίας θαλάσσης καὶ μέχρι Ὠκεανοῦ. Αὐξήθει οὖν καὶ ὑπερ-  
πλουτήσας ἤρπαζε καὶ ἐκ τῶν ὀρίων τῶν Ὀτμαλίδων. Ἄλλ'  
οὖν ὁ σουλτάν Μπαγιαζήτης ἦν εἰρηνικὸς καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλε  
10 πολέμους καὶ μάχας ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ Ἀνατολῇ καὶ Δύσει εὐρι-

104. She made her firstborn son, Rusta Beg, sovereign; after a short while, he died and was succeeded by her other son and then by the third who was called Sultan Yusuf. Then she, too, died; the wicked woman had accomplished all this. As there were no members of this family left to rule, they were at a loss.

105. The slain Mehmed Ugurlu had another son, Emirze by name, who was in the City. After his father's death he had fled to Sultan Bayezid, who gave him his daughter in marriage. He enjoyed considerable honor and glory. Then the Persians sent ambassadors to the sovereign, asking him to restore him to them in order to become the sovereign of all Persia, as he was a member of that family. He readily agreed and sent him in the company of a retinue with considerable glory. After he was enthroned, he sent for his wife with presents of expensive stones and of wealth. She was sent to him. As she approached the borders of her husband's territories, however, an *ulak* came and reported that Emirze Beg, her husband, had been killed. When she heard this, she returned to her father.<sup>122</sup>

106. When Shah Ismail saw that there were troubles with the succession and that there was no true sovereign, but many leaders and confusion, he quickly took over the realm without trouble, as he, too, was the son of Uzun Hasan's daughter. He seized regions and areas as far as Khwarizm and Babylon, subduing the local Scythians and those of the Caspian Sea all the way to the Ocean. Once he had enlarged his realm in this manner, he began to seize lands from the border areas of the Osmanlis. But Sultan Bayezid was a peaceful man and had no wish for wars of battles; nevertheless, he punished, without pity,

σκομένους ἐκ τοῦ ἐκείνου σχήματος ἐτιμῶρει αὐτοὺς ἀνηλεῶς. Ἄκουσας δὲ ὁ Σάχ Ἰσμαήλ ἔστειλε πρέσβεις μετὰ δωρημάτων καὶ ὑποσχέσεων καὶ ὄρκων ὡς ἐν τῇ ζωῇ αὐτοῦ μὴ δράσει τι ἢ ἀρπάσῃ ἐκ τῶν ὀρίων τῆς Ἀνατολῆς.

107. Ὁ δὲ σουλτὰν Σελίμης ἀποκτείνας πᾶσαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γενεάν καὶ γεγωνῶς μονάρχῃς ἐν τε Δύσει καὶ Ἀνατολῇ ἀκούων ὅπως ὁ Σάχ Ἰσμαήλ κυριεύει καὶ αὖξει τὰ ὅρια τῆς ἡγεμονίας αὐτοῦ, ὥρμησε παρευθὺς ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ μετὰ φουσάτου ἀναριθμήτου· ἔλαβε δὲ καὶ κάστρα αὐτοῦ, τὸ τε Καραχημέτι καὶ τὸ Μπαϊμποῦρτι, καὶ περαιωθείς ἐκ τοῦ Εὐφράτου ἦλθεν ἐν τῷ Τευρίζι. Πολέμου οὖν σφοδροῦ γενομένου καὶ πληθὸς λαοῦ ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων πεσόντος (ὑπῆρχον γὰρ ἐν δόρυ καὶ ἄρμασιν οἱ Πέρσαι πολλῶ βέλτιοι τῶν Ὀτμαλίδων), ὡς δὲ 10 εἶδον ὅτι οὐ δύνανται ἀντιστῆναι μετ' αὐτῶν ἔβαλον τὰς ἀμάξας μετὰ τῶν σκευῶν ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ γενήτῳζαροι μετὰ τῶν τουφεκίων· καπνοῦ οὖν γενομένου καὶ κτύπου, οἱ γὰρ ἵπποι αὐτῶν ἦσαν ἀσυνήθεις ἐκ τῶν σκευῶν καὶ ἔδωκαν εἰς τὰ ὄπισθεν, καὶ οὕτως ἐνίκησεν αὐτοὺς κατὰ κράτος· καὶ ἀφέντες πάντα 15 ἔφυγον. Ἐλάβον δὲ βίον καὶ ἵππους καὶ καμήλους μετὰ τῶν φόρτων αὐτῶν· ἔλαβον δὲ καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ Σάχ Ἰσμαήλ· ἐν γὰρ τῷ πολέμῳ ἦσαν μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ παιδῶν καὶ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων αὐτῶν. Ἐλάβε δὲ καὶ σεργούνιδες ἐκ τοῦ Τευριζίου πλούσιους καὶ ἔφερον αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ Πόλει καὶ ἐπιστήμονας πασῶν τῶν τεχνῶν. Καὶ οὕτως ἐποίησε νίκην μεγάλην.

108. Καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ὑποστρέφειν αὐτοὺς οὐχ εὕρισκον τὰ εἰς διατροφὴν· ἔκαυσεν γὰρ καὶ ἠφάνισε τὸν τόπον ἅπαντα ὁ Σάχ Ἰσμαήλ. Ἀπέθανε δὲ πλῆθος πολὺ ἐκ τοῦ λιμοῦ· οἱ πλείονες γὰρ ἐξῆλθον ἄνευ ἵππων καὶ πολλοὶ ἐκ τῶν μεγιστάνων μετὰ 5 τὰ βοῶν ἦλθον ἕως τῶν ὀρίων. Ἐφοβοῦντο γὰρ μὴ ποτε διώκουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἐβρίπτον τὰ ὑφάσματα τὰ σηρικὰ καὶ τὰ ἐκ χρυσοῦ ὑφαντά· οὐ γὰρ εἶχον πῶς ἄρωσιν αὐτά· οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμεινεν αὐτοῖς ἵππος ἢ κάμηλος ἢ μόνον τοῖς μεγιστᾶσι αὐτῶν.

the followers of the sect [Shi'ites] who were found in the East and West.<sup>123</sup> When Shah Ismail was informed of this he sent ambassadors with promises and gifts and swore that during his life he would not attack or seize any place from the border areas in Anatolia.

107. After Sultan Selim had eliminated his entire family and had become ruler of East and West, he heard that Shah Ismail had seized regions and had enlarged his territories; with no delay he marched against him with a countless army; he seized his cities Karahmed and Baibourt, crossed the Euphrates, and came to Tabriz. In a mighty battle many people fell, from both sides. The Persians with their spears and arms were superior to the Osmanlis by far. When the latter saw that they could not prevail, they placed their wagons with the artillery; similarly, they summoned the janissaries with their fire arms. There was much smoke and a great deal of noise; as the horses were not accustomed to artillery, they reared. So his victory was complete; they left behind everything and fled. So they seized their possessions, the horses and camels with their baggage, and they even captured Shah Ismail's wife; they had gone to war with their women, children and possessions. He [Selim] brought to the City as *sürgün*, rich people from Tabriz and experts in all skills. So he enjoyed a great victory.<sup>124</sup>

108. It so happened that on their way back they [Ottomans] could not find food because Shah Ismail had burned and destroyed the entire region. A great number of them perished of hunger; the majority had gone on this expedition without horses. Many of the magnates had come as far as the borders with oxen. In fear that they would be pursued at some point, they discarded silk dresses and textiles embroidered with gold thread; they had no means to transport them, as no one had horses or camels, with the exception of the magnates.

109. Ἐλθὼν δὲ ἐν τῇ Πόλει νικητῆς καὶ τροπαιοῦχος ἐκαθέσθη ἐν τῇ Πόλει· ἀπέκτεινε δὲ ἅμα τοῦ ἐλθεῖν τὸν γαμβρὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν Σκεντέρ μπεΐ, τὸν μποστατζήμπασι, καὶ τὸν καζασκέρι, τὸν πρῶην νισατζή, ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν σεγμέμπασι, διὰ τὸ νεωτε-  
 5 ρῆσαι τοὺς γενητζάρους ἐν τῇ Ἀμασειᾷ ὄντος τοῦ αὐθέντος ἐκεῖ, ὑποπεύσας ὅτι μετὰ βουλῆς αὐτῶν ἐποίησαν ἀτάκτως καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν πλησίον οὗ ἦν αὐτὸς ζητοῦντες χαρίσματα καὶ ὅπως γνόντες οὐκ ἔσκοψαν αὐτούς.

110. Καὶ πάλιν ἐπορεύθη ἐν τῇ Ἀδριανουπόλει. Γέγονε δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ ἔτι ἐμπρησμός μέγας· τὸ γὰρ μέρος τὸ νοτιαῖον ἐκ τοῦ Μαχουμούτ πασιᾶ τὸ ἱμαράτι ἕως τοῦ σουλτάν Μπαγια-  
 5 ζίτη καὶ τὸ Πεζεσθένη ἐντὸς καὶ ἐκτὸς μέχρι καὶ τοῦ λουτροῦ τῆς Κουκουνάρας οὐκ ἔμεινε κἄν λίθος. Τῷ δὲ αὐτῷ ἔτι δέδω-  
 κε καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ σκῆπτρον τὸν σουλτάν Σουλεϊμάνην τὴν Μαγνησίαν. Εἶτα στρατεύει κατὰ τῶν Τζιτιδίων καὶ τοῦ Μη-  
 10 σηρίου. Ἐλαβε δὲ καὶ τὴν Καραμανίαν, ἣγουν τὸν τόπον τοῦ Ἀνατοβλαῖ· ἀποθανὼν γὰρ ὁ Ἀνατοβλαῖς ἔσχεν υἱούς πλεί-  
 10 στους, ὁμοίως καὶ ἀνεψίους· οὐκ εἰρήνευον δέ, ἀλλὰ εἶχον πο-  
 λέμους μετ' ἀλλήλων. Πορευθεὶς δὲ λαμβάνει πᾶσαν τὴν ἡγε-  
 μονίαν αὐτῶν· αὐτοὶ δὲ ἔφυγον, οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸν Σάχ Ἰσμαήλ, οἱ δὲ προσεκύνησαν τὸν αὐθέντην καὶ δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τόπους εἰς διατροφήν. Στρατεύσας δὲ ὡς εἶπομεν κατὰ τῶν Τζιτιδίων,  
 15 πρῶτον μὲν λαμβάνει τὸ Χαλέπι ἄνευ πολέμου τινός· ὁ γὰρ ἀρχηγὸς τοῦ Χαλέπ ᾧ ὄνομα Χαῖρ μπέης προσκυνήσας καὶ δούς αὐτῷ, ἐδεξιώσατο αὐτὸν ὁ αὐθέντης μετὰ τιμῆς καὶ δώρων ὅτι πλείστων τάξας αὐτῷ ὅτι, ἐάν λάβω τὸ Μησήρι, ποιήσω σε σουλτάνον· μόνον δεῖξόν μοι τρόπον πῶς πορεύσομαι. Ἐφο-  
 βεῖτο γὰρ τὸ τοῦ τόπου δύσβατον καὶ ἀμμῶδες καὶ ἄνυδρον μῆ ποτε ἀπόλλυται τοσοῦτος λαός.

109. He [Selim] returned to the City in victory and triumph and remained in the City. After his arrival, he put to death his son-in-law, the *bostancıbaşı* Skender Beg, the *kazasker*, the former *nişancı* and the *segmenbaşı* because the janissaries had rioted in Amaseia in the presence of the sovereign; he suspected that the disturbance had occurred with their approval; the janissaries had marched to his residence and had demanded favors; even though they knew about it, they failed to prevent it.<sup>125</sup>

110. Again he returned to Adrianople. There was a great fire in that year. In the southern part of Mahmud Pasha's mosque, as far as that of Sultan Bayezid; inside and outside the Pezestheni also, as far as the baths of Koukounara; not a single stone remained. In the same year he gave to his son, Sultan Suleyman, Magnesia as his standard. Then he marched against the Tzitides and Misr. He also seized Karamania, i.e., the realm of Anadovla. After Anadovla's death, his many sons and nephews had no peace but fought against each other. So he marched and he took over their entire realm. Some of them fled to Shah Ismail and others submitted to the sovereign and he gave them territories for their expenses. In his expedition against the Tzitides, as I mentioned, he first took Halep, without a battle, as its leader called Hair Beg submitted and surrendered to him; the sovereign received him with honor and very many gifts; he then promised him: "If I seize Misr, I will appoint you sultan; just show me the way to march there." He was afraid, on account of the terrain, which was difficult, sandy and waterless, lest such a great army perished.



111. Θαβρήσας γάρ ὁ αὐθέντης αὐτῷ γέγονε πρόβοδος ὡς εἰδῶς ἀκριβῶς ἅπαντα τὸν τόπον. Ἐλθόντες τοιγαροῦν ἐν τῇ Δαμασκῷ οὐκ ἤθελεν προσκυνῆσαι· εἰς γὰρ τοσοῦτο πλῆθος λαοῦ τί εἶχε πράξαι; Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν στερεὸν κάστρον εἰς τὸ ἀντι-  
 5 μαχήσασθαι· ὅμως παρεδόθη. Ἄραντες δὲ ἐκείθεν ἐπορεύοντο ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ὃ λέγεται Μησήρι. Ἰδὼν δὲ τὸ τοῦ τόπου δύσβατον ὁ αὐθέντης ἐβουλεύσατο μετὰ τοῦ Χαῖρ μπέη ὅπως καταλείψῃ τὸ πολὺ πλῆθος τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ ἵππους καὶ πορεύσεται μετ' ὀλίγου λαοῦ· ὃ καὶ ἐποίησε· ὁ γὰρ Χαῖρ μπέης ἠπί-  
 10 στατο ἀκριβῶς τὸν τοῦ σουλτάνου λαὸν τὸν τῆς πόρτας αὐτοῦ· τοὺς Ἄραβας, εἰ καὶ πλῆθος ἦν πολὺ, ἀλλ' ἄνανδροι· οὐκ ἐν μέτρῳ εἶχεν αὐτούς.

112. Πλησιάσας δὲ τὸν τόπον ἐφλέγοντο ἐκ τῆς δίψης καὶ τοῦ καύματος πᾶς ὁ λαὸς καὶ τὰ ζῶα. Ἄλλ' ὅρα τὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ· ἔβρεξε γὰρ ὁ Κύριος βροχὴν θαυμαστὴν καὶ ἐγεμίσθησαν οἱ ῥύακες καὶ οἱ λακκῶδεις τόποι· καὶ ἐπιον τὰ ζῶα καὶ οἱ ἀνθρω-  
 5 ποι. Ἐθαύμασαν γὰρ οἱ ἐντόπιοι λέγοντες ὅτι οὐκ εἶδομεν τοιαύτην βροχὴν οὔτε ἡμεῖς [οὔτε οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν].

111. The sovereign was encouraged by him and he became the guide because he had accurate knowledge of the area. They came to Damascus, which did not wish to surrender. But what could it do against such a large army? Its fortifications were not strong enough for defense. And so it surrendered. They left and marched to Egypt which is called Misr.<sup>126</sup> When the sovereign saw the difficult terrain, he decided with Hair Beg to leave behind the bulk of his army and horses and to proceed with a small army; so he did. Hair Beg had accurate knowledge of the sultan's Porte troops. There were many Arabs but they were cowards and could not be disciplined.

112. They approached the place; they were burning with thirst and with the heat, the entire army and the animals. But marvel at God's works: the Lord sent a miraculous rain and all the creeks and the places full of holes were filled. Animals and men drank. The local inhabitants were amazed and said: "Neither we [nor our fathers] have seen such rain."<sup>127</sup>

## List of Abbreviations

- Babinger, *Mehmed*: F. Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*. Trans. R. Manheim; ed. W. C. Hickman, Bollingen Series 96 (Princeton, 1978).
- Barker, *Manuel II*: J. W. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus 1391-1425. A Study in Late Byzantine Statesmanship* (New Brunswick, 1969).
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- Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek*: R. Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek* (London, 1969).
- BZ: *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*.
- CHSB: *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae* (Bonn, 1828-97).
- CMH: *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4, pts 1 and 2 (Cambridge, 1966-67).
- Delehay, "Deux typica": H. Delehay, "Deux typica de l'époque des Paléologues," *Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux Arts. Mémoires. Série 2, Classe des Lettres* (Brussels, 1921), vol. 13, fasc. 4, 1-187.

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- DOP: *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, (Cambridge, 1941-).
- EO: *Échos d'Orient*.
- EI: *Encyclopedia of Islam*.
- Fassoulakis, *Raoul-Ral (I) es*: S. Fassoulakis, *The Byzantine Family of Raoul-Ral (I) es* (Athens, 1973).
- Germanos, *Ὁρθοδοξία*: Germanos of Sardis, "Συμβολὴ εἰς τοὺς πατριαρχικοὺς καταλόγους Κωνσταντινουπόλεως ἀπὸ ἀλώσεως καὶ ἐξῆς," *Ὁρθοδοξία* 8 (1933) 252-53, 279-85, 312-20, 345-54, 9 (1934) 30-37, 74-82, 118-28, 175-84, 212-20, 251-58, 304-11, 319-27, 355-63, 429-38, 487-96, 517-25.
- GRBS: *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*.
- Hero, "Irene-Eulogia": A. C. Hero, "Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina, Abbess of the Convent of Philanthropos Soter in Constantinople," *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 9 (1985) 119-47.
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- Laurent, "Une princesse-byzantine au cloître": V. Laurent, "Une princesse byzantine au cloître. Irène Eulogie Choumnos Paléologine, fondatrice du couvent de femmes τοῦ Φιλανθρώπου Σωτήρος," *EO*, 29 (1930) 29-60.
- Laurent, "La direction spirituelle": V. Laurent, "La direction spirituelle à Byzance. La correspondance d'Irène Eulogie Choumnaina Paléologine avec son second directeur," *REB*, 14 (1956) 48-86.
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- PG: J.-P. Migne, *Patrologiae cursus completus*, Series Graeco-Latina, (Paris, 1857-66).
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- PLP: *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit*, E. Trapp (ed.) (Vienna, 1976-).
- REB: *Revue des études byzantines*. (Bucharest and Paris, 1946).
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- Verpeaux, "Notes prosopographiques": J. Verpeaux, "Notes prosopographiques sur la famille Choumnos," *Byzantinoslavica*, 20 (1959) 252-66.
- ZRVI: *Zbornik Radova, Vizantilskog Instituta* (Belgrade, 1952-).

## Notes

1. This rebellion of Byzantine and Ottoman princes against their reigning fathers took place in May 1373. The details of this coordinated rebellion are not known and there is considerable confusion in our sources; even the name of the Ottoman prince is disputed: he is variably called, Musa, Sawdji, and Kunduz. The Byzantine state, in this late period, had experienced a number of rebellions, as civil strife among the ruling families for control of the throne in Constantinople had been quite common. It is more difficult to understand the motives of Ottoman prince, who died soon after his eyes had been gouged out. John V Palaiologos (1354-1391) accepted the surrender of his son Andronikos on May 30, 1373; Andronikos and his wife, Maria Kyratza (the daughter of Bulgaria's Ivan Alexander) were taken into custody. The blinding of Andronikos was ordered by Sultan Murad I, who captured his own son on September 25, 1373. The important consequence of this rebellion for the Byzantine state was the rise of Manuel II, who now was proclaimed co-emperor; up to this time he was the despot of Thessalonike. After his coronation (September 25, 1373), John V went into a semi-retirement for the rest of his life. See R.-J. Loenertz, "La premiere insurrection d'Andronic Paléologue," *EO* 38 (1939) 342-45; P. Charanis "Internal Strife in Byzantium during the Fourteenth Century," *Byzantion* 15 (1940/41) 208-30; Nicol, *Last Centuries*, p. 288; and Barker, *Manuel II*, pp. 21, 22.

2. The journeys of John V actually took place before the rebellion, in 1360-1370. Andronikos was left in charge of Constantinople while John V travelled to Naples and Rome, where he personally espoused Latin doctrine; he then visited Venice and there he was detained on account of a financial dispute. Manuel II, the then despot of Thessalonike, came to his father's aid, ceded the island of Tenedos to Venice, and offered himself as security. Thus John V was released and returned to Constantinople on October 28, 1371.

3. For the voyages of this emperor, see O. Halecki, *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome. Vingt ans de travail pour l'union des églises et pour la défense de l'Empire d'Orient, 1355-1373* (Warsaw 1930), and his modified position in "Two Palaiologi in Venice, 1370-1371," *Byzantion* 17 (1944-45) 331-35; P. Charanis, "The Strife among the Palaiologi and the

Ottoman Turks, 1370-1402," *Byzantion* 16 (1942/43) 216-32; J. Chrysostomides, "John V Palaiologos in Venice (1370-1371) and the Chronicle of Caroldo: A Reinterpretation," *Orientalia Christiana Periodica* 31 (1965) 76-84; and Barker, *Manuel II*, Appendix 1.

4. Mustafa claimed to be the son of Bayezid I Yıldırım (1389-1402); he appeared on the scene c. 1416. At first he found support from Venice; she assisted in transporting him to Thrace. Mustafa made a pact with Juneid, the lord of Smyrna and emir of Aydin, against the legitimate sultan, Mehmed I (1411-1421). In spite of Manuel II's friendly relations with the Porte, the Byzantine court was implicated in this incident and Manuel II, in conjunction with Stephen Lazarević of Serbia and with Karaman, may have actually considered supporting Mustafa's claim. The pretender was eventually apprehended by the Byzantines who transported him to the island of Lemnos. For an account of this incident, see Philippides, *Chronicle*, 4.4.

5. While Mustafa was sent to Lemnos, Juneid was detained in Constantinople for some time. On these events, see Barker, *Manuel II*, p. 340 ff; Nicol, *Last Centuries*, pp. 344, 345; and A. Nimet, *Die türkische Prosopographie bei Laonikos Chalkokandylas* (Hamburg 1933), p.45 ff.

6. After the death of Mehmed I (1421), a debate and dispute arose in the court of Constantinople in regard to future action. Manuel II and his son and co-emperor John VIII could not agree; Manuel II was in favor of supporting the legitimate claim of Murad II, while John supported the installation of Mustafa the pretender as the sultan of the west in an attempt to split the Ottoman empire. This disagreement between father and son resulted in the total transfer of power from Manuel II to John VIII (Philippides, *Chronicle*, 8.3). Thus the aggressive war faction prevailed and Byzantine support was promised to Mustafa in exchange for Kallipolis. See Barker, *Manuel II*, pp 355 ff; Nicol, *Last Centuries*, pp. 347, 348; and Shaw, *History*, p. 44.

7. Manuel II died on July 22, 1425; for this death and funeral, see the eye-witness account in Philippides, *Chronicle*, 14.15. Sophia fled from Constantinople in August 1426; Philippides, *Chronicle*, 14.2.

8. For the family of Manuel II, see Barker, *Manuel II*, Appendix 15. Manuel II Palaiologos and Helena Dragas had the following sons, in addition to several daughters: John VIII (1425-1448), Theodoros the despot at Mistra, Andronikos the despot at Thessalonike, Constantine XI Dragases (1448-1453), Demetrios the despot at Mistra, and Thomas the despot of the Morea.

9. Andronikos took the monastic name Akakios; he died on March 4, 1429; he was buried in the Church of the Pantokrator (Philippides, *Chronicle*, 16.8). Thessalonike changed masters frequently in this period. In 1387 it came under Osmanli control but by 1403 it was in Byzantine hands once again. In 1423 the Venetians came at the invitation of Despot Andronikos; in spite of the persistent rumor in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries that Andronikos "sold" Thessalonike, this city had already been paying tribute to Venice in 1415 and was heavily relying on Venice against the Ottomans. The defense and provision of Thessalonike proved rather costly to Venice. In addition, there was the ever present strife between the Catholic authorities and the Orthodox population. On Sunday, March 26, 1430, Murad II began the siege of this city. The main assault was launched on March 29. At the fall of the city the Venetian authorities departed and sailed to Euboia, while the janissaries plundered the city. Some of the most prominent citizens were ransomed by the sultan himself; a certain number of survivors then converted to Islam. Murad compelled his janissaries to evacuate some of the occupied houses which he restored to the ransomed survivors. One of the most famous churches, the Acheropoiotos, was then turned into a mosque. On the fall of Thessalonike, see M. Spremic, "Harac Soluna u XV veku," *ZRVI* 10 (1967) 187-95; P. Lemerle, "La Domination Vénétienne à Thessalonique," *Miscellanea G. Galbiati* 3 (= Fontes Ambrosiani 27) (1951) 219-25; Nicol, *Last Centuries*, pp. 350, 351, 365-67; Barker, *Manuel II* p. 373; D.M. Vaughan, *Europe and the Turk: A Pattern of Alliances 1350-1700* (Liverpool 1954), pp. 47, 48; G.T. Dennis, "The Second Turkish Capture of Thessalonike, 1391, 1394, or 1430," *BZ* 57 (1964); and A.E. Vacalopoulos, "Zur Frage der zweiten Einname Thessalonikis durch die Türken," *BZ* 61 (1968) 285-90.

10. The siege, the sack, and the subsequent events are described in the eyewitness account of John Anagnostes, text and Latin translation in *CShB* (1839) 483-534.

11. After the capture of Thessalonike an Ottoman expedition marched into Epiros and accepted the surrender of Ioannina. The terms of the surrender have survived in a number of manuscripts with the title "The Decree of Sinan Pasha." The inhabitants were treated in a generous manner and were allowed to enjoy certain privileges that were not extended to cities that had resisted. In the following centuries the existence of "the Decree" guaranteed the relative freedom of the Greek population in this area. Thus Ioannina became part of the Ottoman *sancak* of

Albania. See Nicol, *Last Centuries*, pp. 367, 368, and Vacalopoulos, *Origins*, pp. 148, 149.

12. Our author is referring to the Council of Florence, which declared the union of the Latin and Orthodox Churches. Since the sack of Constantinople by the crusaders (1204), the Orthodox population of Byzantium had become highly suspicious of Papists and westerners in general. Popes and princes of the West, moreover, declined to send military aid to Byzantium before the union of the churches had been effected. The result of this situation was the creation of a pro-union party in Constantinople, headed by the Palaiologi and most members of the nobility; this party was, by extension, pro-western and anti-Ottoman. An anti-union party was also formed, composed mainly of the majority of the population, the monks, and the lower clergy; this party was anti-western and, in certain respects, expressed a preference for the Ottomans because the latter allowed their subject populations to practice their religion and their traditional rites. On earlier attempts to unite the churches, see Runciman, *Great Church*, chapters 2 and 3; D.J. Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West* (Oxford 1966), chapter 2; and H. Evert-Kappesowa, "La fin de l' union de Lyon," *Byzantinoslavica* 17 (1956) 1-18, among others.

13. "Hierarchs" indicates clergymen holding episcopal rank, that is, bishops, archbishops or metropolitans.

14. The Greek delegation included the emperor John VIII; the Neoplatonic philosopher George Gemistos Plethon; the archbishop of Nikaia (and later cardinal of the Catholic Church) George Bessarion; the patriarch of Constantinople Joseph II (1416-1439); the leader of the anti-union faction Metropolitan Markos (Eugenikos) of Ephesos; the emperor's brother Demetrios; and George Scholarios, who was destined to become the first patriarch of the Orthodox millet under Sultan Mehmed II. For the participants in this council, see J. Gill, *Personalities of the Council of Florence and Other Essays* (London 1964).

15. Maria Komnene, the daughter of Alexios Komnenos, the emperor of Trebizond, was married to John VIII in September 1427 (Philippides, *Chronicle*, 14. 3,4).

16. Officials (κληρικοί) are holders of ecclesiastical offices.

17. Demetrios always posed problems in this period of troubles. After the fall of Constantinople, quarrels between Thomas and Demetrios in the Morea compelled Mehmed II to invade and annex the peninsula formally. Sphrantzes, who was court official to Constantine XII, the last emperor of Constantinople, and who, after the sack of Constantinople,

joined the retinue of Thomas first in the Morea and then in Corfu, has left a detailed account of the intrigues and machinations of Demetrios and of the sad story of the last Palaiologi in an independent Greece. Recent studies include, C. Head, *Imperial Twilight: The Palaiologos Dynasty and the Decline of Byzantium* (Chicago 1977), pp. 133, 140-42, and S. Runciman, *Mistra: Byzantine Capital of the Peloponnese* (London 1980), passim.

18. The Greek delegation reached Venice in March 1438. Pope Eugenius IV (1431-1447) convened the Council at Ferrara on April 9, 1438. The participants then moved to Florence on account of the plague at Ferrara. On July 5, 1439, agreement was reached and the document declaring the union was signed by the entire Orthodox delegation which remained, with the notable exception of Markos Eugenikos of Ephesos. On the following day the union was proclaimed and was celebrated by Bessarion and Giuliano Cesarini, who represented the Orthodox and the Latin Churches, respectively. Before the agreement was signed, Plethon, Demetrios, and Gennadios had departed from Italy.

19. Maria died on December 17, 1439 (Philippides, *Chronicle* 24.3). The Greek delegation returned from Italy in February, 1440. Patriarch Joseph II had died in Florence. Even though Rome had won, the Orthodox delegation retained all of its liturgical and other traditions. See J. Gill *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge 1961); Nicol *Last Centuries*, p. 369 ff; Runciman, *Great Church*, p. 105 ff; and Geanakoplos, *Byzantine East and Latin West*, p. 84 ff. By February 1440, some members of the Greek delegation had changed their minds about the union and had repudiated their signatures. The union could not be enforced in the capital. A papal representative reported to Rome that the emperor was in no position to impose the terms of the agreement on his subjects. For the views of the Constantinopolitan court, see Philippides, *Chronicle*, 23.1.

20. The "bishop of Russia" is Isidore, Metropolitan of Kiev and All Russia. Like Bessarion, Isidore, too, was convinced by the arguments of the Latins and returned to Italy. He was made a cardinal and later went to Constantinople and assisted in the defense of the city against the Ottomans. During the sack of Constantinople in 1453, he was captured and was then ransomed. He returned to Italy once more and the pope appointed him patriarch of Constantinople *in absentia*. He died in 1463. Most of Isidore's letters have not been translated into English. For the text of his letters dealing with the fall of Constantinople (with

Italian translation), see A. Pertusi, *La Caduta di Constantinopoli*, vol. 1: *Le Testimonianze dei Contemporanei* (Verona 1976), 58-111.

21. Gregory III Mamas (1443-1450).

22. The grand duke was Loukas Notaras, the most influential member of the nobility, who was disliked by George Sphrantzes. The personality and actions of Notaras remain controversial among scholars. Some have viewed him as a prominent anti-unionist, who enjoyed good relations with George Scholarios, the leader of the anti-unionist faction after the death of Markos Eugenikos; some have gone so far as to accuse the grand duke of treason and of collaboration with the Ottomans during the siege of 1453; by contrast, others have interpreted his actions as those of a reasonable individual; yet others have seen him as one of the early martyrs of Neo-Hellenism. Most of the authors of our sources, Greek or Western, exhibit marked hostility towards Notaras. In general, see Vacalopoulos, *Origins*, pp. 192, 193, 200, and I. Kordatos, *The Last Years of the Byzantine Empire* (Athens 1931), *passim* (in Greek).

23. Loukas Notaras was executed shortly after the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The motives behind his execution remain unknown and the exact manner of his death is obscure, as our sources present conflicting evidence. Before his own execution, Notaras probably witnessed the executions of his sons and of his son-in-law; his youngest son was taken to the sultan's seraglio. Notaras' wife also died shortly thereafter. The grand duke was, however, survived by his daughters who had been sent to Italy before the beginning of the siege. On the survivors of this family, see Vacalopoulos, *Origins*, pp. 200, 201.

24. In the summer of 1444 Murad appointed his young son Mehmed II regent. Late in November, or early in December, 1444, he abdicated in favor of his son. The motives behind his retirement are not known but the various possibilities are examined in Babinger, *Mehmed* pp. 41, 42.

25. Mehmed II was thirteen years old at his father's abdication. He was supervised by the grand vizier, Halil Çandarlı, and by the judge of the army (*CMH* 4, 771). For the influential Çandarlı family, cf. V. L. Menage, "Djandarlı," *EI* 2, 444, 445. Halil became the grand vizier when his predecessor, İşak Pasha, who was probably of Greek extraction, was demoted to the rank of second vizier in 1439. The third vizier was Zaganos (Zaganuz) who was also of Greek or Albanian origin. Halil was raised to the post of grand vizier by the sultan, who thus made a compromising gesture in an attempt to pacify the old Anatolian families which resented

the promotion of the slaves of the Porte through the process of the notorious *deüfirme*, the child tribute.

26. John (Janos, Janco) Corvinus Hunyadi (c. 1386-1456) was either the illegitimate son of Emperor Sigismund or the son of Vajk, a knight of Sigismund, in charge of the castle Hunyad in Transylvania. John Hunyadi became a celebrated hero in the fifteenth century through his tireless efforts to combat Ottoman aggression in the Balkans. From his base at Belgrade, he began to launch raids into Ottoman territory in 1441 and met with various successes. See B. Homant, "Hungary, 1390-1490," *CMH* 8, 608 ff, and Babinger, *Mehmed*, pp. 20, 21. The *kral* in our text is Ladislav III under whom the kingdoms of Hungary and Poland were united.

27. Our author had confused and conflated two battles here: the battle of Varna (November 10, 1444) and the later campaign of Hunyadi which culminated in the battle of Kossovo (October 17-20, 1448). Murad II was recalled from retirement to face the offensive of Hunyadi. For the crusade of Varna, see O. Halecki, *The Crusade of Varna: A Discussion of Controversial Problems* (New York 1943); S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, (Cambridge 1953), vol. 3, 465 ff; Gill, *The Council of Florence*, 329-33; Babinger, *Mehmed II*, p. 26; Nicol, *Last Centuries*, pp. 378-80; and D.J. Geanakoplos, "Byzantium and the Crusades, 1353-1453," *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 3: *The Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, ed. H.W. Hazard (Madison, 1975), pp. 69-103.

28. This long battle began on the morning of November 10, 1444. The Ottomans first committed their raiders and auxiliary horsemen (*akincı*) but this first assault was repelled. The second attack was launched by the *sipahi* under Karaca Beg of Anatolia, who engaged the crusaders' right wing; the Christians broke rank and fled; then a counter-offensive was mounted by Ladislav III and Karaca Beg fell in the battle. But Ladislav III changed the battle plan and charged Murad II's position; at this point the sultan may have been alarmed and may have even attempted to flee but he was dissuaded by the janissaries (Babinger, *Mehmed* p. 39). The janissary Hoca Hızır from the Morea brought to the sultan the head of Ladislav III which was then displayed in the battlefield. At this sight, the Christians lost heart and fled. In the evening the Ottoman troops withdrew in good order while the crusaders fled towards the Danube.

29. This is probably a reference to Hoca Hızır; see the previous note.

30. Why Halil Çandarlı recalled Murad II before the new campaign



of John Hunyadi remains obscure but one of the basic motives was undoubtedly fear that young Mehmed II would not be able to deal with the situation. On May 5, 1446, Murad II began a slow journey towards Adrianople. He stayed in Prousa for a few days and then crossed the straits. Once he had been enthroned again and was in firm control of the realm, Mehmed II retired to Magnesia. Mehmed II never forgave Halil Çandarlı for this incident. After the defeat of Hunyadi at Kossovo, Murad II refrained from campaigning in 1449; he remained in Adrianople and enjoyed the company of poets and intellectuals. In 1450, he and Mehmed II led an attack into Albania but failed to capture its capital. Murad II suffered an attack of apoplexy and died on Wednesday, February 4, 1451. See Babinger, *Mehmed*, pp. 61-63; Shaw, *History*, p. 49 ff; and Kinross, *Ottoman Centuries*, p. 91 ff. The death of the sultan was kept secret, as Mehmed II was not very popular with the janissaries. Halil informed Mehmed II of his father's death. After he was enthroned, Mehmed II raised his supporter Zaganos to the post of second vizier. He took over the Ottoman realm on February 18, 1451.

31. John VIII Palaiologos died on October 31, 1448. Before his death he designated as his successor his brother Constantine XII, the despot of the Morea. This nomination was opposed by Demetrios Palaiologos who attempted to seize the throne. Helene Dragaš, the wife of Manuel II, and Thomas Palaiologos supported Constantine XII; Murad II approved their choice (Philippides, *Chronicle*, 28.7, 29). On January 6, 1449, the metropolitan of Lakedaimonia crowned Constantine XII at Mistra. He arrived in Constantinople on March 12, 1449, on board Catalan vessels, and restored peace among his brothers. There has been no book-length study of Constantine XII since C. Mijatovich, *Constantine Palaeologus, The Last Emperor of the Greeks, 1448-1453: The Conquest of Constantinople by the Turks* (Chicago, 1968; repr. of the 1892 ed.). Constantine XII further adopted his mother's family name, Dragaš, which was rendered in Greek as Dragases, Dragazes, Dragasis, or Dragatzes; because of this name's phonetic similarity with the Greek word "drakos," "dragon," the tale soon spread that Constantine XII possessed the strength of a dragon.

32. On April 15, 1452, Mehmed II began the construction of a fortress at the narrowest point of Bosphoros, across from the castle which had been built by Bayezid I on the Anatolian shores (Anadolu Hisari). Work on Mehmed II's castle was completed by late August, 1452. This fortress was variably known as Bogazkesen, "the neck-cutter," λαιμο-

κοτία (in Greek) Başkesen, "the head-cutter," or Rumeli Hisari. On this castle, see Babinger, *Mehmed*, pp. 75-79; Runciman *Fall*, pp. 65-67; Nicol, *Last Centuries* p. 396; Kinross, *Ottoman Centuries*, p. 98; and E. H. Ayverdi, *Osmanlı Mi'marisinde Fatih Devri IV* (Istanbul 1974), 626-62.

33. A garrison of 400 men under Firuz Beg was instructed to stop all ships bound for Constantinople and to exact tolls. On August 28, 1452, Mehmed II came close to Constantinople and inspected its formidable fortifications before he returned to Adrianople on September 1.

34. The siege and fall of Constantinople have been related by many historians and chroniclers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, including Doukas, Chalkokondyles, and Pseudo-Sphrantzes. These accounts are complimented by various eyewitness reports and journals composed by participants shortly after the fall. Some eyewitness reports, with Italian translation, are collected in Pertusi, *La Caduta di Constantinopoli*, vol. 1. Translations into English include J.R. Melville Jones, *The Siege of the Constantinople 1453: Seven Contemporary Accounts* (Amsterdam 1972), i.e., Tetaldi, Leonard, Chalkokondyles, Doukas, Riccherio, Dolfin, and Lomellino; J.R. Jones *Nicolò Barbaro: Diary of the Siege of Constantinople 1453* (New York 1969); C.T. Riggs, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror by Kritovoulos* (Westport, Conn. 1970); H.J. Magoulias, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks by Doukas* (Detroit 1975); and Philippides, *Chronicle* which includes the sixteenth century narrative of the siege by Pseudo-Sphrantzes. Another Greek version of Leonard's siege, can also be found in M. Philippides, *Byzantium, Europe, and the Early Ottoman Sultans 1373-1513: An Anonymous Greek Chronicle of the Seventeenth Century (The Barberini Codex 111)*, New Rochelle, 1990. The secondary literature on this event is enormous; a convenient bibliography can be found in Runciman, *The Fall*.

The operation of transferring the boats to the Golden Horn took place on April 22. The sultan had constructed a roadway from Tophane through Taksim Square to Kasim Pasha; thus he was able to bypass the boom that was blocking the entrance to the harbor of Constantinople. It was probably a westerner who suggested this operation to Mehmed II. The presence of the Ottoman fleet in the Golden Horn further contributed to the demoralization of the defenders, whose forces had to be thinned out in order to guard the sea walls.

35. The artillery of Mehmed II was formidable. His large pieces made a deep impression on the survivors who wrote accounts of this siege. Early

in the summer of 1452 a Hungarian expert in the construction of cannons, Urban(us) or Orban(us), had offered his services to the emperor, who was unable to pay the salary demanded by Urban. So Urban entered the service of Mehmed II. His most impressive creation was a cannon that shot projectiles of 1,200 pounds; the most detailed description of this cannon can be found in Riggs, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror*, 1, 125-142. See also, Pears, *Greek Empire*, p. 245 ff.; Babinger, *Mehmed*, pp. 80-82; Runciman, *The Fall*, pp. 77, 78; and Nicol, *Last Centuries*, p. 403. This cannon was positioned on the hill of Maltepe, directly in front of Mehmed II's headquarters and was aimed at the fortifications around the gate of Saint Romanos; this gate became known in Turkish as Top Kapı, "The gate of the cannon." It had been transported from Adrianople by 60 oxen and 200 men. Early on in the siege it exploded and killed the artillerymen around it, including perhaps Urban. Mehmed II had it repaired or built another one in its place. For the reliance of the sultan on western technology, see C.M. Cipolla, *Guns, Sails and Empires: Technological Innovation and the Early Phases of European Expansion 1400-1700* (New York, 1965); Pears, *Greek Empire* p. 245 ff. Babinger *Mehmed*, pp. 80-82; Runciman, *The Fall*, 77, 78; Nicol, *Last Centuries*, p. 403; and D. Stacton, *The World on the Last Day, The Sack of Constantinople by the Turks, May 29, 1453; Its Causes and Consequences* (London 1965), p. 191.

36. Giovanni Giustiniani Longo was a member of a famous Genoese family. He arrived in Constantinople on January 29, 1453, with 700 men. Because of his fame as a *condottiere* and of his skill in defending walled cities, Constantine XI appointed him *protostrator*, i.e., commander-in-chief, of his forces. All sources agree that he played an important part in the defense of the city and that he even earned the admiration of the Turks. During the final assault, however, he was severely wounded and was forced to withdraw; the exact nature of his wound is not known. His departure did create confusion and panic among the defendants and is ultimately responsible for the ensuing defeat. The statement in our text that he may have been wounded by someone from within the fortifications is also duplicated in the sixteenth century verse chronicle by Hierax, an individual who had close ties to the Patriarchate. Such statements point to the existence of a tradition in Constantinople that attributed the wound of the Genoese commander to a defender. In the morning of May 29 the situation at the gate of Saint Romanos must have been chaotic; a stray arrow or missile, perhaps from the inside, cannot be ruled

out; neither can treachery as Giustiniani had been the right hand of the emperor and must have made enemies, especially among the anti-union, pro-Turkish factions in Constantinople. In some of our sources he is reported to have quarreled violently with Loukas Notaras, the grand duke, whose anti-union sentiments were widely known. Giustiniani's ship reached Chios but he died during the voyage; he was buried in the church of Saint Domenico; Pears, *Greek Empire*, p. 355, and Philippides, *Chronicle*, pp. 148, 149.

37. This naval operation took place on April 28, two hours before dawn (Runciman, *The Fall*, p. 107). This measure had been dictated by the presence of the Ottoman vessels in the Golden Horn; its objective was the destruction of the Ottoman ships. Originally the date for this operation was April 24, but it was postponed in order to allow the Genoese time to participate. In the four intervening days the plan was reported to the sultan and the attack was expected. Thus the operation failed and only one enemy vessel was destroyed.

38. The decision to launch the final assault was made on Saturday, May 26, during an important meeting of the sultan's council. The attack seems to have started after midnight but before dawn. The condition of the walls was deplorable and each tower was manned by two or three soldiers. The first wave of the assault consisted of the bashi-bazouks and the irregulars. The main thrust was against the fortifications in the valley of Lykos. This attack was repelled. The second wave consisted of the Anatolian regiments, while bombardment of the walls continued. The second attack was also repelled. Immediately then the janissaries advanced in formation, before the defenders were allowed time to recover; there had been no time to make repairs on the fortifications.

39. These details are precious as they are not found in other sources, including the eyewitness reports that have survived. Such details must originate with an oral tradition that was preserved in Constantinople and must go back to accounts by survivors. It is quite possible that they originated with the circle of George Scholarios, who was the first patriarch under Mehmed II. They do display an aura of authenticity. Especially interesting are the statements in regard to the condition of the gates. The congestion at the gates can be surmised from most sources but here it is given its clearest expression. Most gates had been locked before the attack in order to prevent the defenders from deserting their posts. When a gate was opened for Giustiniani to depart, the panic and the rout of defenders ensued, as they must have attempted to follow Giustiniani

into the city. It was in fact the panic around the gates that contributed to the heavy losses of the defenders, when they trampled each other to death in their efforts to retreat into the city. The statement about the captives being lowered down by ropes also seems to be another authentic detail. It is just the sort of thing that a survivor would recall. Was this the way that George Scholarios was taken out of Constantinople to begin his short period of servitude in Adrianople?

40. Psalms 44.13

41. Lamentations for the fall of Constantinople were popular and can constitute a virtual genre in Greek demotic poetry. Formal lamentations in prose, with special emphasis on the fate of Hagia Sophia, can also be found in most Greek, and in some Latin sources. On this genre, see, among others, G. Megas, "La Prise de Constantinople dans la poésie et la tradition populaires grecques," in *Le Cinq-Centième Anniversaire de la prise de Constantinople (=L' Hellénisme Contemporain)* (Athens 1953), 125-33, and G. Podskalsky, "Der Fall Konstantinopels in der Sicht der Reicheschatologie und der Klagenlieder," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 57 (1975) 71-86.

42. The last moments of Constantine XII are not known, as no member of his retinue, who happened to be by his side, survived. Most sources add such details to his death to suggest that he fought heroically to the bitter end; but none of the authors were anywhere near the emperor at the time of his death. A few even suggest that he was trying to escape and that he perished by the press near the gates. After the entrance of the conquering sultan, a search was undertaken to identify the remains of the emperor. The sultan was eventually satisfied that Constantine XII had perished, even though his body may have never been found. If it had been found and given burial, the site would have never been forgotten by the Greeks of Constantinople. The most detailed description of the sultan's search is provided in Doukas; cf. H. Magoulias, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium*, 40.3, in which, it is claimed, Loukas Notaras identified the severed head of the emperor. In our account, "Mamalis" sounds like a Greek corruption of a Turkish name. Soon after the conquest, a large number of legends grew around the possible burial sites of the emperor's remains. A summary of all possible sites is supplied in Magoulias, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium*, pp. 314-18; n. 289; also see Vacalopoulos *Origins*, p. 344, n. 86; Pears, *Greek Empire*, pp. 353-56; and Runciman, *The Fall*, p. 144. For the traditions and legends about the last emperor of Constantinople, see Vacalopoulos, *Origins*, p. 347, n. 115;

F. Babinger, "Quizil Elma," *Der Islam* 12 (1922), 109-11; F. Hasluck, "The Prophecy of the Red Apple," in his *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (Oxford 1922), 2, 736-40; and E. Rossi, "La legenda turco-bizantina del Pomo Rosso," *Studi bizantini e neoellenici* 5 (1939) 542-53.

43. Notaras' daughters, Theodora, Euphrosyne, and Anna, had been sent to Italy before the beginning of the siege with sufficient funds to ensure them a comfortable life. They settled in Venice's large Greek community. In later years Anna became an influential member of Venice's Greek community and remained a practicing Orthodox until her death in 1507; see K. Mertzios "The Will of Anna Palaiologina Notaras," *Athena* 53 (1949) 17-21 (in Greek), and G. Cecchini, "Anna Notara Palaeologa: Una Principessa greca in Italia e la politica senese di ripopolamento delle Maremma," *Bollettino senese di storia patria* 9 (1938) 6-27. Notaras' son (whose name was either Iakovos (Vacalopoulos *Origins*, p. 200) or Isaak(ios) (Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos*, p. 180 ff)) had been taken into the seraglio of Mehmed II. Sometime between 1458 and 1464, he escaped and made his way to Rome, where he was assisted by Pope Pius II and by Cardinal Bessarion. For the survivors of the Notaras family, see Vacalopoulos, *Origins*, pp. 200, 201.

44. This is also an original detail, not found in other sources. This detail must have been noted by a survivor. Is it possible that the remains of Constantine XII perished in this fire?

45. Halil Çandarlı had been opposed by Zaganos, Şihabeddin, and Turahan; the last three had taken over the role of protecting young Mehmed II's interests in the last years of Murad II's reign. This group became powerful at Mehmed II's accession and threw its support behind the sultan's plans to conquer Constantinople. Halil on the other hand, was an advocate of peace and was opposed to the siege. Moreover, Mehmed II had never forgiven Halil for summoning his father to the throne before the battle of Kosovo (1448). The date of Halil's execution is discussed by H. Inalcik, "Mehmed the Conqueror (1431-1481) and his Time," *Speculum* 38 (1960) 408-27, esp. 412; he concludes that it took place either in August or September, 1453. Babinger, *Mehmed*, p. 102: Halil was executed on July 10. His arrest took place on May 30.

46. Before he departed from Adrianople, the sultan declared Constantinople his capital. It was probably in this period that Constantinople was renamed Istanbul which, in all likelihood, is a corruption of the Greek phrase, εἰς τὴν πόλιν; see S. Runciman, "Constantinople-Istanbul," *Revue des études sud-est européennes* 7 (1969) 205-08. Mehmed II

left for Adrianople on June 21, 1453, after he appointed Karısturan Suleyman Beg as governor with a garrison of 1,500 janissaries. Elaborate plans for the repopulation of the new capital may have been initiated at this early stage, as special measures were taken to encourage settlement in the new capital. The repopulation of Constantinople continued for many years through compulsory re-settlement policies. Cf. H. Inalcik, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest," *Studia Islamica* 2 (1954) 112-29; "The Policy of Mehmed II towards the Greek Population of Istanbul and the Byzantine Buildings of the City," *DOP* 23/24 (1969/70) 231-49; and "Mehmed the Conqueror;" also, see Babinger, *Mehmed*, pp. 103, 104.

47. That the compulsory resettlement policy was vigorously pursued and seriously affected the inhabitants of Greece is further evidenced in the fact that the Turkish term *sürgün* passed into the Greek vocabulary.

48. After the fall of Constantinople, Genoa became uneasy and ceded its possessions in the Black Sea to the Uffizio di San Giorgio (November 14, 1453). In the summer of 1454 an Ottoman fleet attacked Akkerman and seized Sebastopol; the armada reached Caffa on July 11. The sultan then demanded an annual tribute. Caffa was not annexed until 1475, when it fell to Ahmed Gedik Pasha after a siege of three days (June 6, 1475). Large numbers of the population were transported to Constantinople. See Babinger, *Mehmed*, p. 344.

49. For administrative purposes, Mehmed II decided to allow the election of a patriarch in Constantinople; this post had been vacant since the days before the siege. The sultan chose the anti-unionist George Scholarios who had actively opposed the policies of the Constantinopolitan court. During the siege Scholarios had retired to a cell in the Pantokrator. Under the Ottoman sultans the Orthodox formed a *millet*, a self-governing community within the empire, whose leader was the patriarch; he was ultimately responsible to the sultan for the community's conduct. Thus, the Patriarchate of Constantinople became extremely powerful in this period and exercised considerable influence over the Greek and the Orthodox communities. For the enthronement of Scholarios, who took the name Gennadius II, and the early history of the Great Church of Christ, see Philippides, *Chronicle*, pp. 133-36; M. Philippides, "Patriarchal Chronicles of the Sixteenth Century," *GRBS* 25 (1984) 87-94; M. Philippides, "An 'Unknown' Source for Book III of the *Chronicon Maius* by Pseudo-Sphrantzes," *Byzantine Studies/Etudes byzantines*, 10 (1983) 174-84; and Runciman *Great Church*, p. 165 ff. On the career of Scholarios, see C.J.G. Turner, "The Career of George Gennadius Scholarios," *Byzantion*

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50. In 1463 Mehmed II took away the Church of the Holy Apostles from the patriarch; the church was torn down together with the Church of Lips. To the north of the site the mosque of the conqueror was built and was completed probably in the summer of 1471. Mehmed II's architect was a Greek, Christodoulos, who was also known as the freedman Sinan. For this mosque, see Babinger, *Mehmed*, p. 292 ff.

51. The Church of Pammakaristos was also taken over in a later period and was turned into the mosque of victory (Fethiye Camii), 1573. For the Greek Church and the Greeks under the Ottoman sultans, see N. P. Eleutheriades, *The Privileges of the Ecumenical Patriarchate* (Smyrna 1909) (in Greek); V. Laurent, "Les Chrétiens sous les sultans," *EO* 28 (1929) 398-404; G. G. Arnakes, "The Greek Church of Constantinople and the Ottoman Empire," *Journal of Modern History* 24 (1952) 235-50; Runciman, *Great Church*, passim; and Papadopoulos, *Studies and Documents*.

52. The sultan respected the patriarch and reports about private conversations between Mehmed II and Gennadius II should not be dismissed lightly. There were widespread rumors, which even reached Italy, that the sultan displayed a lively interest in the Christian religion. Some western humanists, inspired by such reports, went so far as to try and convert the sultan to the Catholic faith. In the east, the Trebizondian philosopher George Amoiroutzes, whose sons had converted to Islam, even suggested a syncretism of Islam and Christianity. See Runciman,

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Great Church, pp. 182, 183 and Papadakis, *Byzantion*, 42 (1972) 88-106.

53. For the despots of the Peloponnesos after the fall of Constantinople, see Runciman, *Mistra: Byzantine Capital of the Peloponnese*, ch. 8. There was an Albanian insurrection in the Peloponnesos at this time. Economic grievances, burdensome taxation, and national aspirations may have been the contributing factors. The Albanian rebellion soon spread among the Greek nobles of the region, who had traditionally resented the Palaiologan domination of the peninsula. In Demetrios' territories, the rebels chose Manuel Kantakouzenos as their leader, the governor of Mani; Nicol, *The Byzantine Family of Kantakouzenos*, pp. 210-13. In Thomas' territories the rebels attacked Patras, the residence of the despot. The leader of the rebels here was John Asan Centurione, the son of the last Latin prince of Achaia. Thomas and Demetrios joined forces and petitioned the sultan for aid. The sultan sent Ömer, the son of Turahan, who entered the Morea in December 1453. The rebellion, however, could not be contained before the personal intervention of Turahan, who came to the Peloponnesos in October 1454. Already by December 1453, the two despots had become dependents of the sultan, who imposed a heavy annual tribute on them. For the end of the insurrection, see Babinger, *Mehmed*, pp. 125, 126.

54. Patriarch Isidoros II, surnamed Xanthopoulos, was an hieromonk (priest-monk) and hegoumenos of the Monastery of Xanthopouloi when he was elected *circa* May 1456. He served until the spring of 1462 when he died; Germanos, *Ὀρθοδοξία* 8 (1933) 312.

55. Patriarch Ioasaph I (Kokkas) succeeded Gennadios after the latter's third tenure. However he was preceded by Patriarch Sophronios who succeeded Gennadios after the latter's second tenure. Ioasaph was also an hieromonk when elected *circa* beginning of 1465. He served as patriarch between twelve and fourteen months; Germanos, *Ὀρθοδοξία* 8 (1933) 313-14.

56. Gennadios II's reign had not been easy, as he encountered heavy opposition to his measures (such as allowing marriages to boys under the age of twelve, obviously a counter-measure to the child tribute, the *devşirme*, which recruited Christian boys for the janissary corps). Because of considerable opposition, Gennadios II resigned in 1456 and retired to Mount Athos; then he moved to the Monastery of Saint John at Serres, under the patronage of the Serbian Mara, the widow of Murad II and stepmother of Mehmed II. Twice more was Gennadios II summoned to the Patriarchal throne. He died sometime after 1472. See Vaporis,

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57. Mehmed II's formal annexation of the Morea was partly prompted by the fact that the two despots had failed to send the assessed annual tribute for a number of years. In 1457, the sultan demanded immediate payment, which, again, was not received. In addition Thomas' overtures to the west had alarmed and angered Mehmed II. Thus he invaded the peninsula and instituted a reign of terror to discourage any resistance. He entered the Morea in May 1460. He advanced towards Mistra, the residence of Demetrios. Mistra surrendered on May 29, 1460. The sultan personally received the submission of Demetrios the following day. On these events, see Vacalopoulos, *Origins*, p. 212; Runciman, *Mistra: Byzantine Capital of the Peloponnese*, p. 85 ff; Babinger, *Mehmed*, p. 160 ff; and W. Miller, *The Latins in the Levant. A History of Frankish Greece* (New York 1968), p. 438 ff. Also cf. N. Cheetham, *Mediaeval Greece* (New Haven and London 1981), ch. 8.

58. Before the fall of Mistra, Demetrios had sent his family to the safety of Monemvasia (Vacalopoulos, *Origins*, p. 212). On these events, see Philippides, *Chronicle*, 40.2, 3, 4.

59. During the invasion, Thomas sought safety in the Venetian possessions of the peninsula. When Mehmed II advanced towards Korone, the Venetian authorities urged Thomas to flee. He went to Porto Longo and then sailed to Corfu with his retinue in July, 1460. On November 16, 1460, he arrived in Italy and visited the pope in Rome, to whom he presented the head of Saint Andrew, which he had removed from Patras. Thomas was granted an annual pension by the pope. He died in Rome on March 12, 1465 (Philippides, *Chronicle*, 42.10). His children, Andreas, Manuel, and Zoe, were given to the care of Cardinal Bessarion, who brought them up as Catholics. See Vacalopoulos, *Origins*, p. 215; Nicol, *Last Centuries*, p. 425, and Stacton, *The World on the Last Day*, p. 274.

60. Thomas' daughter, Zoe, married Ivan III, the grand prince of Moscow in 1472; once in Russia, she reverted to Orthodoxy. Her marriage contributed to the legend that Moscow was the Third Rome. See Miller, *Essays on the Latin Orient* (Cambridge 1921), p. 106, and R.L. Wolff, "The Three Romes: The Migration of an Ideology and the Making of an Autocrat," in *Myth and Mythmaking* (Boston 1968), ed. H. A. Murray, pp. 174-98.

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62. Thomas' son, Andreas, received a monthly pension of fifty ducats from the pope. In 1480 he married a prostitute and soon thereafter he found himself heavily in debt. He sold his rights to the throne of Constantinople on a number of occasions: 1494 and 1502 to Charles VIII of France and to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, respectively. His will has survived, see P. K. Enepekides, "Das wiener Testament des Andreas Palaiologos vom 7. April 1502," *Akten des XI. Internationalen Byzantinisten Kongresses* (Munich 1958), ed. F. Dölger and H. G. Beck, pp. 138-43. Manuel returned to Constantinople in 1477. Our text is the only source to mention that Manuel was led astray by other individuals. Our author is well-versed in the affairs of Constantinople and there is no need to doubt his information. Manuel received an estate from Mehmed II. His son, Andreas, converted to Islam, Runciman, *Fall*, p. 182, Nicol, *Last Centuries*, p. 424. Thomas' daughter, Helena, was married to Lazar, the son of George Branković of Serbia; their daughter, Maria, was married to Stefan Tomašević of Bosnia. For the descendants of the Palaiologi in the west, see Stac-ton, *The World on the Last Day*, p. 274, and Nicol, *Last Centuries*, p. 425.

63. For Thomas' sons, see T.E. Typaldos, "The Descendants of the Palaeologi after the Fall," *Δελτίον της Ιστορικής και Έθνολογικής Εταιρείας της Ελλάδος* 8 (1922) 129-54 (in Greek), and D. Zakythinis, *Le Despotat grec de Morée*, vol. 1: *Histoire politique* (Paris 1933), pp. 290-97.

64. Demetrios received the town of Ainos as his estate, including the salt mines, in addition to the islands of Lemnos and Imbros, as well as parts of Samothrace and Thasos. He remained in charge of this property until 1467, when his estates were confiscated because of misappropriations and illegalities in regard to salt mines, as is mentioned in our text. Demetrios' life was only spared through the personal intervention of Mahmud Pasha.

65. Demetrios moved to Didymoteichon and was granted an annual pension of 50,000 aspers by the sultan. He and his wife took monastic vows at Adrianople shortly thereafter. They died after their daughter's death in 1470. Demetrios and his family had maintained close ties with the Patriarchate. Demetrios had been an anti-unionist in the past and most authors of the fifteenth century considered him to be the "black sheep" of the Palaiologan family. That he was close to the Patriarchate can also be evidenced by the fact that some of his possessions were given to the patriarch at his death. For Demetrios' last days, see Runciman, *The Fall*, pp. 181, 182, and Babinger, *Mehmed*, pp. 178, 179.

66. Mehmed II first marched to Erzurum in order to create the impression that his objective was an offensive against Uzun Hasan and not against Trebizond.

67. Before Mehmed II turned against Trebizond, he received Uzun Hasan's mother, Sara Hatun, who was escorted by the beg of Kurds and by other Anatolian magnates. She negotiated a peace treaty but failed to include Trebizond in its terms. Thus Uzun Hasan was compelled to pledge that he would not aid Trebizond in the upcoming campaign. After the conclusion of this treaty, Mehmed II marched to Trebizond and proceeded with its annexation. See Babinger, *Mehmed*, pp. 192, 193.

68. The Ottoman fleet had already begun the blockade of Trebizond before the arrival of the sultan. David of Trebizond was unaware of the treaty between Uzun Hasan and Mehmed II and he decided to resist, under the expectation that he would receive aid from Uzun Hasan. In time, he was compelled to begin negotiations with Mahmud Pasha through his *protovestiarios*, the philosopher George Amoiroutzes; Vacalopoulos *Origins*, p. 226; Babinger, *Mehmed*, p. 195; and Nicol, *Last Centuries*, p. 432. David agreed to surrender Trebizond under the stipulation that he would be treated in the same manner as Demetrios Palaiologos of the Morea. Trebizond appears to have surrendered sometime in the middle of August 1461. On the date, see F. Babinger, "La date de la prise de Trebizond par les Turcs (1461)," *REB* 7 (1949) 205-07; for a different view, Vacalopoulos, *Origins*, p. 354, n. 73. On the fall of Trebizond, see W. Miller *Trebizond: The Last Greek Empire*, with historical introduction and select bibliography by A. C. Bandy (Chicago 1969), p. 96 ff; A. A. Vasiliev, "The Empire of the Trebizond in History and Literature," *Byzantion* 15 (1940/41) 316-73; Pears, *Greek Empire*, ch. 18, Vacalopoulos, *Origins*, p. 25 ff; and Runciman, *Fall*, p. 173 ff.

69. On this controversial figure, see S. Lampros, "Ameroutzes' Letter about the Fall of Trebizond," *Νέος Έλληνομνημων* 12 (1915) 476, 477 (in Greek); and N. B. Tomadakis, "Did George Amiroutzes become a Turk?" *Έπετηρίς Εταιρείας Βυζαντινών Σπουδών* 18 (1948) 99-143 (in Greek); also see Runciman, *The Fall*, p. 232.

70. For the role of Amoiroutzes during the siege and in the negotiations for the surrender of Trebizond, see Miller, *Trebizond*, p. 103.

71. The two sons of Amoiroutzes, who converted to Islam, were given the names Skender and Mehmed. Both he and his sons survived the surrender of Trebizond, outlived the Komneni rulers, and wielded considerable influence in the Greek community of Constantinople, as the



sultan became fond of this man's erudition. It is quite possible that Mehmed II studied geography from manuscripts of Ptolemy under the guidance of Amoiroutzes, who also produced a map of the world for his master. We also hear that Mehmed, Amoiroutzes' son, produced for the sultan a translation of the Bible into Arabic. See Babinger, *Mehmed*, pp. 246, 247.

72. In 1463, George Amoiroutzes reported to the Porte that David, the ex-emperor of Trebizond, had been in touch with his niece, the wife of Uzun Hasan. The sultan regarded this action as a plot. David was consequently arrested on March 26, 1463. In November of the same year he and six of his sons, as well as his nephew Alexios, were executed in Constantinople. His youngest son was spared, however, and was converted to Islam. For the survivors of this family, see Runciman, *The Fall*, p. 185.

73. On June 4, 1456, Athens had fallen to Ömer, the son of Turahan, but the citadel on the Acropolis held out until June 1458. Franco Acciajuoli, the last Florentine duke of Athens, his wife and their three children, and the last Latin archbishop of Athens, Nicolo Protimo, left the Acropolis and went to Thebes. In the same year, on his way back from the campaign in the Morea, Mehmed II personally visited Athens and toured the antiquities. The sultan must have known something about Athens' ancient history as his retinue had, in the past, western humanists in it, including the famous Ciriaco di Pizzicoli (Cyriacus Anconitanus), the father of archaeology. On Mehmed II's visit, see Babinger, *Mehmed*, pp. 497-99, 160, 161; Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, pp. 438-41, and Vacalopoulos *Origins*, p. 211.

74. George Amoiroutzes died in 1475 of a heart attack. The comment in our text in regard to "eternal fire" suggests that the author believed that the philosopher had in fact become a Muslim convert.

75. Markos (Xylokaravis) II, an hieromonk and a native of Constantinople, was elected around the beginning of 1466 and remained in office until the middle of the same year when he was expelled due to the machinations of the patriarchal officials; Germanos, *Ὀρθοδοξία* 8 (1933) 314-15.

76. Symeon I, an hieromonk from Trebizond, succeeded Markos in the beginning of 1466, but probably remained in office only until the middle of the same year. He returned as patriarch about the end of 1471 and served to about the end of 1475. His third tenure lasted from the beginning of 1482 to the autumn of 1486; Germanos, *Ὀρθοδοξία* 8 (1933) 315-20. See also note 78 below.

77. Dionysios I was elected patriarch in December 1466 and served until the end of 1471 when he was expelled. Dionysios took up residence in the Monastery of Kosinitza (Eikosiphoinissa). He was recalled for a second tenure in July 1488 and served until the end of 1490 when he resigned due to old age. He returned to the Monastery of Kosinitza where he died and was buried in 1492.

Having lived a saintly life, Dionysios was recognized as a saint of the Orthodox Church, which commemorates his memory on November 23. Germanos, *Ὀρθοδοξία* 8 (1933) 345-49, and Runciman, *Great Church*, p. 194.

78. Markos Xylokaravis marks the beginning of troubles for the Patriarchate. Markos was elected in 1465; his enemies were led by Symeon, the metropolitan of Trebizond, who coveted the throne for himself. In 1466 a bribe was presented to the Porte officials, who ordered the dismissal of Markos and the installation of Symeon. Mara, the step-mother of Mehmed II and widow of Murad II, intervened and the sultan appointed her own candidate, Dionysios, the metropolitan of Philipopolis. On these events, see Runciman, *Great Church*, pp. 193, 194.

79. For Markos (Eugenikos), metropolitan of Ephesos, see note 14 above.

80. Uzun Hasan had been in touch with Venice, the Vatican, Naples, and Poland in the past; Babinger, *Mehmed*, pp. 297 ff, 305 ff. With western encouragement and Venetian aid, Uzun Hasan took the offensive. He also formed an alliance with Karaman, who proceeded to take over Tokat. On August 4, 1473, the Ottoman forces were defeated at Erzincan, as they were attempting to cross the Euphrates; Babinger, *Mehmed*, p. 314. A second battle was fought a week later and, this time, Mehmed II was victorious. After Uzun Hasan's defeat, the sultan put his prisoners to death, sparing only a few scholars. On August 24, a peace treaty was secured by which Ottoman domination over regions west of the Euphrates was ensured. See Babinger, *Mehmed*, p. 315, and Shaw, *History*, p. 66.

81. Even though the Serb Raphael had promised an annual payment of 2,000 pieces of gold to the Porte, he was not able to maintain his appointment, as the metropolitan of Heracleia refused to consecrate him and the majority of the Synod declined to communicate with him. In 1477, at the instigation of Mara, the sultan intervened and appointed Manuel Christonymos patriarch, who took the name Maximos II Manasses. Maximos II had quarreled in the past with Gennadios II over the latter's use of economy and had supported Ioasaph I against



13 (1941) 444-66; and H. J. Kissling, *Die anonyme altosmanische Chronik über Sultan Bayezid II*, "Grazen und Münchener balkanologische Studien (Beiträge zur Kenntniss, Südosteuropas und des Nahen Orients) (Munich 1967), pp. 128-66.

93. In 1480 an Ottoman force under Gedik Ahmed Pasha established a bridgehead in Italy. Otranto fell into Ottoman hands on August 11. With Otranto as their base, the Turks launched raids as far as Lecce, Brindisi, and Taranto. By October, however, the Turks were forced to retreat within the walls of Otranto and Gedik Ahmed returned to Rumeli and asked for reinforcements. The death of Mehmed intervened and the Ottoman force at Otranto finally departed on July 10, 1481. On this expedition, cf. Shaw, *History*, p. 70; Babinger, *Medhed*, pp. 390-96; P. Coco, *La Guerra Contro i Turchi in Otranto. Fatti e persone, 1480-1481* (Lecce 1945); and A. Bombaci, "Venezia e la impresa turca di Otranto," *Rivista storica italiana* 56 (1974) 159-203. After his return to Rumeli, Gedik Ahmed Pasha attempted to persuade Bayezid II to continue with the Italian campaign. The sultan refused and dispatched Gedik Ahmed to defeat Cem. After his victory over Cem, Gedik Ahmed was assassinated. The aggressive policies of Mehmed II were then renounced by his successor, who returned to a policy of peaceful coexistence, reminiscent of the reign of Murad II. See Shaw, *History*, pp. 70, 71; and Kinross, *Ottoman Centuries*, pp. 161, 162.

94. Cem found support for his revolt in Karaman and among the Turkoman tribes of the Taurus. He was able to seize Prousa and mint his own coins as sultan before he was defeated, after a reign of eighteen days, by Gedik Ahmed. The decisive battle took place near Yenışehir on June 20, 1481. Cem fled to Cairo at first and then went to Rhodes and sought the protection of the knights of Saint John. His value as a claimant to the throne of Constantinople was soon realized and intense competition for the possession of this royal hostage ensued. Cem was then sent to Rome and he was about to start a journey to France when he fell ill and died (February 24, 1495) in Naples. On Cem's saga, cf., among others, L. Thuasne, *Djem Sultan* (Paris 1892), and I.H. Uzunçarşılı, "Cem Sultan's dar beş orijinal vesika," *Belleten* 24 (1960) 457-83.

95. In June-July 1481 Stephen of Moldavia crossed the Danube and raided Bulgaria, under the impression that Bayezid II was fully occupied with the revolt of Cem. Bayezid II launched a counter-offensive in July. He seized Kili on July 14, 1484, and his Crimean Tatar allies secured Bessarabia in August. Stephen was forced to recognize Bayezid II's suzerainty. See Shaw, *History*, pp. 72, 73, and Vaughan, *Europe and the Turk*, p. 84, 85.

96. The sultan signed a treaty with Venice on January 6, 1482, by which Venice's tribute to the Porte ended and commercial privileges were increased. Soon thereafter, the sultan began a campaign to provoke a war with Venice. It was at this time that he increased his field of operations in the northern Balkans and Albania. Ottoman troops from Albania then occupied Montenegro, which was a Venetian protectorate. On these events, see Shaw, *History*, p. 75.

97. In 1487, during the Ottoman-Mamluk war, Venice had refused permission to the Ottoman fleet to use the facilities of Famagusta in Cyprus. Moreover, in 1489 Venice took over Cyprus through the marriage of the last Lusignan king to a Venetian woman. In 1492 the Venetian bailo in Constantinople was expelled. Minor incidents in the Peloponnesos and in Albania further aggravated the situation and contributed to the alienation of the Porte and Venice. In 1496 Bayezid II occupied Montenegro and closed his ports to the Venetians; by 1499 Ottoman ships were launching raids on the shores of Dalmatia. On July 4, 1499, without a formal declaration of war, Bayezid II ordered the imprisonment of all Venetians in Constantinople. Soon thereafter, Venice began to convert her merchant galleys into warships. Bayezid then launched his invasion of the Peloponnesos in 1500. For the background of this war, see Vaughan, *Europe and the Turk*, pp. 90, 91, and Shaw, *History*, p. 75.

98. For the Ottoman navy, see Kurdoglu, *Gelibolu ve Yöresi Tarihi* (Istanbul 1938); A. R. Seyfi, *Kemal Reis ve Baba Oruc* (Istanbul 1907) and H. A. von Burski, *Kemal Reis: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des türkischen Flotte* (Bonn 1963).

99. The Ottoman fleet entered the Gulf of Corinth and began the blockade of Naupaktos after three minor engagements. The only serious attempt to stop the Ottoman fleet was made by Loredano and his three ships; Vaughan, *Europe and the Turk*, p. 90. The Albanian population of Naupaktos surrendered to the Ottomans under the condition that their town would be spared. Naupaktos surrendered on August 28, 1499; Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, pp. 492-94.

100. Bayezid II, with complete control over the Gulf of Corinth began the invasion of the Peloponnesos in 1500. He attacked Nauplion but failed to scale its fortifications. Then he moved to the south of the peninsula and invested Methone, which was protected by formidable walls and was well-prepared for the siege. After a month of hostilities, four Corfiot vessels arrived in Methone with provisions. While the inhabitants were at the harbor, Bayezid II launched his main assault. No mercy was shown to the sur-

vivors after intense fighting in the streets. Methone fell on August 9, 1500, and three centuries of Venetian rule over this city ended; Miller, *The Latins in the Levant*, pp. 495, 496, and Cheetham, *Mediaeval Greece*, p. 250.

101. The fall of Methone precipitated the surrender of Korone and of Navarino. Navarino's commander immediately handed over the keys to his city. The authorities at Korone decided to resist but the inhabitants, who had been terrified by Methone's fate, forced them to surrender the city. Thus the lives of the population were spared. Korone and Methone were then assigned to Mecca which enjoyed their revenues.

102. Before he departed from the Peloponnesos, Bayezid II made a second attempt to capture Nauplion and failed again. Then he returned to Adrianople. By 1502 he had lost interest in this war; Venice, too, had reached the point of exhaustion. Bayezid released his Venetian prisoners in Constantinople and sent an embassy with peace proposals to Hungary. Negotiations ended in 1503 and a seven year truce was declared; both sides sought to establish the pre-war status quo. Venice, however, failed to secure the return of Methone, Korone, and Navarino. On this peace, see Vaughan, *Europe and the Turk*, pp. 92, 93.

103. Metropolitan Nephon on Thessalonike was elected at the end of 1486 to perhaps the middle of 1488 but not without some intermissions. He was elected a second time in July 1488 when he was expelled. Elected for a third time in the spring of 1502, while he was in Wallachia, Patriarch Nephon refused to serve. Instead he went to the Monastery of Dionysiou of Mount Athos where he lived as a monk and died in 1508. Nephon was subsequently declared a saint. See Germanos, *Ὁρθοδοξία* 8 (1933) 351-54; 9 (1934) 30-31.

104. On Amoiroutzes, and his family, see above notes, 65, 66, 67, and 68.

105. On the early history of the Patriarchate, for which there is a scarcity of sources, see Germanos, *Ὁρθοδοξία* 8 (1933) 252-53, 279-85, 312-20, 345-54; 9 (1934) 30-35; Runciman, *Great Church*, pp. 186-207, and M. Philippides, "Patriarchal Chronicles of the Sixteenth Century."

106. Our author is well informed in regard to the problems between the Safavid dynasty and the Ottomans. The founder of the Safavids was Şeyh Saffiuddin (1252-1254). Eventually, the Ottomans came into direct contact with the Safavids in the reigns of Murad II and Mehmed II. Ismail (1487-1524) penetrated Iran with seven tribes and managed to assume control of the area by destroying the local Iranian lords. During the reign of Bayezid II there was support for the Safavids within the Ottoman realm, as the sultan had alienated the old Ottoman families of Anatolia and a

number of nomadic groups; moreover, other dissatisfied elements, which generally belonged to the dervish orders opposing the *sunni* orthodoxy of the Ottoman government, found their champions in the Safavids and their followers known as *kızılbaş*, because of the distinctive red-colored head gear that they wore. The Safavids were originally the leaders of a Turkoman movement which moved progressively toward the militant Shia heresy; by the end of the fifteenth century total transformation to the Shia heterodoxy had taken place. Ismail proclaimed himself shah of Persia in 1502 and further asserted descent from Ali, the son-in-law of the prophet Muhammed. He also became the Great Sufi when he declared Shi'ism as the official religion of his realm. See Shaw, *History*, pp. 77, 78, H. Sohrweide, "Der Sieg der Safaviden in Persien und seine Rückwirkungen auf die Schiiten Anatoliens im 16. Jahrhundert," *Der Islam* 41 (1965) 95-223, and Kinross, *Ottoman Centuries*, p. 166.

107. The attempts to dethrone Bayezid II may have their origins in the fact that he had proved unable to overpower the Safavids in the east. Selim tried to take power twice with support from the Crimean Tatars. In the face of a janissary revolt, Bayezid II was finally compelled to abdicate in favor of Selim who was expected to deal swiftly with the Safavids.

108. On the abdication of Bayezid II and the accession of Selim I Yavuz, see S. Tansel, *Yavuz Sultan Selim* (Ankara 1969), and M.C. Uluçay "Yavuz Sultan Selim Nasıl Padişah Oldu?," *Tarih Dergisi* 6 (1954) 53-90.

109. A detailed account of these events is preserved in another anonymous chronicle; see M. Philippides, *Byzantium, Europe, and the Early Ottoman Sultans, 1373-1513; An Anonymous Greek Chronicle of the Seventeenth Century*. New Rochelle, 1990.

110. Each of Bayezid II's sons had been entrusted with a province. Ahmed, the eldest, was known for his administrative abilities and also favored his father's policies but he had not been popular with the janissaries. Korkud was interested in poetry and music and displayed no military talent. Şehinşah died in 1511 and Alemşah died in 1512. Two other sons, Abdullah and Murad, had died earlier (1483 and 1503, respectively). Ahmed governed Amasia. Korkud was placed in charge of Antalya in 1511, after he had made a journey to Egypt in an attempt to win Mamluk support for his claim. Selim was the most warlike of the brothers and the favorite of the janissaries but he was disliked by his father who thought that he was excessively cruel. For Bayezid II's sons, see Shaw, *History*, pp. 78, 79.

111. For Selim I Yavuz, see E. Eberhand, *Osmanische Polemik gegen*

die *Safaviden im 16. Jahr. nach arabische Handschriften* (Freiburg 1970); G.W.F. Stripling, *The Ottoman Turks and the Arabs, 1511-1574* (Urbana 1942, repr. 1968); H. Jansky, "Beitrage zur osmanische Geschichtschreibung über Ägypten," *Der Islam* 21 (1933) 269-78; and the detailed bibliography in Shaw, *History*, p. 311. For Selim I and Europe, see Vaughan, *Europe and the Turk*, pp. 100, 101.

112. After the enthronement of Selim I, Bayezid II left the capital, as he wished to retire at Demotika; he died on May 26, 1512. It is possible that he was poisoned by a physician at Selim I's instigation. Other chronicles assign responsibility to the personal physician of the sultan. For an assessment of Bayezid II's reign, see Shaw, *History*, pp. 78, 79. Selim I earned the nickname Yavuz, "the Grim," because of his systematic elimination of all his relatives, who could have a claim on the throne. Thus it is quite possible that he may have started with the murder of his father.

113. Maximos IV was elected in the beginning of 1491 and served for six years before he was forced out of office. He resigned in the beginning of 1497. Shortly afterwards, he went to Mount Athos where he died and was buried at the Monastery of Vatopedion; Germanos, *Ὀρθοδοξία* 9 (1934) 31.

114. Translated from the metropolis of Derkon, Ioakeim was elected in the autumn of 1498. He traveled to Georgia in 1501 to solicit funds. In the spring of 1502 he was deposed through the machinations of the metropolitan of Selybria. Ioakeim returned for a second time in the beginning of 1504 in succession of Pachomios I. In need of funds, he toured Moldavia and he died in Selybria in the autumn of 1504. Germanos, *Ὀρθοδοξία* 9 (1934) 31-33.

115. Metropolitan Pachomios of Zichna was in residence in his metropolis when elected at the beginning of 1503, but resigned after only serving a year. He was succeeded by Ioakeim I. Following the latter's death in the autumn of 1504, Pachomios returned as patriarch. He died of poisoning in the beginning of 1513 while on his way to Constantinople from Wallachia where he had gone to raise funds. Germanos, *Ὀρθοδοξία* 9 (1934) 35-36.

116. After the death of Maximos II, Nephon I returned to the patriarchal throne for one year but was then displaced by Ioakeim I, who enjoyed the support of the king of Georgia. The Wallachians supported Pachomios I, and Ioakeim I travelled to Wallachia in order to bring about a reconciliation with the prince. He died there in 1504 and Pachomios I remained on the throne for nine years. See Runciman, *Great Church*, pp. 198, 199.

117. In the early years of his reign, Selim I pursued a policy of recon-

ciliation with his brothers. He allowed Korkud to retire to Manisa and Ahmed was given the governorship of Ikonion. Ahmed, however, did not remain content with this post and declared himself sultan of the east; he sent his son Alauddin to seize Prousa in 1512. Selim I responded with a campaign designed to eliminate all challenges to his authority: brothers, nephews, and even some of his sons, were put to death.

118. Selim I enjoyed the support of the janissaries. In the beginning of his reign, Selim I decided to return to the aggressive policies of Mehmed II. He relied heavily on the janissary troops, whose numbers were now enlarged. With their support, Selim I was able to turn his attention to the Safavids and to Mamluk Egypt, once his domestic troubles were over. See Shaw, *History*, pp. 79, 80, and Kinross, *Ottoman Centuries*, pp. 166, 167.

119. Mehmed II, the Conqueror, had formally annexed only one Christian church, Hagia Sophia. Bayezid II demanded the surrender of Pamakaristos in 1490, the church of the Patriarch. Dionysios I was able to prove that this church had been given to the Christians by the Conqueror; the sultan then demanded the removal of the cross from the dome. Even though he forbade further annexation of other churches, his ban was soon disregarded. It was in the reign of Selim I that troubles began again. Selim I even proposed to convert all Christians into Moslems forcibly. When this plan proved unfeasible, he demanded that all Christian churches in Constantinople be surrendered. Patriarch Theoleptos I had to admit that he had no document, no *firman*, in his possession that could protect the churches; documents, he claimed, had been burned in a fire at the Patriarchate. With the help of the lawyer Xenakis, Theoleptos I was able to produce three aged janissaries, who testified under oath that they had been with Mehmed II during the siege and fall of Constantinople in 1453 and that the conqueror had promised to those who had surrendered that they could keep their churches. Sultan Selim I accepted this evidence and went so far as to allow the Christians to reopen some other churches that his officials had closed. In 1537, during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent, the same question was raised again in regard to the status of the Christian churches and again no action was taken by the Ottoman authorities against the churches. For these incidents and the possible existence of the documents, see M. Philipides, "An 'Unknown' Source for Book III of the *Chronicon Maius* by Pseudo-Sphrantzes," *Byzantine Studies/Études byzantines*, 10 (1983) 174-84. Also see Runciman, *Great Church*, 189, 190.

120. On the Safavids, see above, n. 97.

121. On Uzun Hasan and Mehmed II, see Babinger, *Mehmed*, pp. 314, 315. The wife of Uzun Hasan was Aikaterine Komnene of Trebizond, also known as Despoina Hatun.

122. On Bayezid II and the east, see the detailed bibliography in Shaw, *History*, p. 310.

123. The reference is to the *kızılbaş* and to the followers of the Safavids, who were shiites.

124. For the Ottoman policies of deportation of subject peoples, see Inalcik, "Ottoman Methods of Conquest," and Ö. Barkan, "Les déportations comme méthode de peuplement et de colonisation dans l' Empire Ottoman," *Revue de la Faculté des Sciences Économiques de l' Université d' Instanbul* 9 (1949/50) 67-131. On the effect of the deportations and compulsory resettlement on the Greeks, see above, n. 45. Selim I's wars with the Safavids are discussed in Eberhard, *Omanische Polemik gegen die Safaviden*. See also, R.M. Savory, "The Principal Offices of the Safewid State during the Reign of Ismail I (1501-1524)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 23 (1960) 91-105, and L. Lockart, "The Persian Army in the Safavi Period," *Der Islam* 24 (1959) 89-98.

125. The *bostancıbaşı* was a Porte official nominally in charge of the royal gardeners; the *kazasker*, or *kadı-i asker*, was a judge of the army; the *nişancı* was responsible for inscribing the official Ottoman monogram; and the *segmen başı* was in charge of the dog-keepers.

126. On Selim I and Egypt, see W.H. Salmon, *An Account of the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt* (London 1939), and the following studies by H. Jansky: "Beitrag zur Osmanische Geschichtschreibung über Ägypten," "Die Eroberung Syrien durch Sultan Selim I," *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte* 2 (1926) 173-231, and "Die Chronik des Ibn Tulun als Geschichtesquelle über den Feldzug Sultan Selim's I gegen die Mamluken," *Der Islam* 18 (1929) 24-33. *Mamluk* is in origin an Arabic word that denotes a slave or a captive. The Mamluks of Egypt were descended from a slave regiment which had seized power in the middle of the thirteenth century. Their rule was already on the decline by the beginning of the fifteenth century; they were not suppressed, however, until 1517. On their origins, see A. Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages* (London 1901). Relations between the Ottomans and the Mamluks had been deteriorating as early as 1468, when the Ottomans annexed Karaman; rival claims over eastern Anatolia and the Holy Places did not ease the tension. The first Ottoman-Mamluk war began in 1485 and lasted until 1491. War broke out again in 1516; Shaw *History*, p. 73.

## LIST OF BYZANTINE EMPERORS 1373-1453

John V Palaiologos 1341-1391  
 John VI Kantakouzenos 1347-1354  
 Andronikos IV Palaiologos 1376-1379  
 John VII Palaiologos 1390  
 Manuel II Palaiologos 1391-1425  
 John VIII Palaiologos 1425-1448  
 Constantine XII Palaiologos 1448-1453

## LIST OF PATRIARCHS OF CONSTANTINOPLE 1373-1543

Philotheos 1364-1376  
 Makarios 1376-1379; 1390-1391  
 Neilos 1379-1388  
 Antonios IV 1389-1390; 1391-1397  
 Kallistos II 1397  
 Matthaïos I 1397-1410  
 Euthymios II 1410-1416  
 Ioseph II 1416-1439  
 Metrophanes II 1440-1443  
 Gregory III 1453-1450  
 Athanasios II 1450-1453  
 Gennadios II 1453-1456; 1463; 1464-1465  
 Isidoros II 1456-1457  
 Ioasaph I 1459-1463; 1464  
 Markos 1465-1466  
 Symeon 1466; 1471-1474; 1481-1486  
 Dionysios I 1466-1471; 1489-1491  
 Raphael 1474  
 Maximos III 1477-1481  
 Nephon 1486-1489; 1497-1498

Maximos IV 1491-1497  
 Ioakeim I 1498-1502; 1504  
 Pachomios I 1503 1504; 1504-1513  
 Theoleptos I 1513-1522  
 Ieremias I 1522-1545  
 [Ioannikios 1526]

## LIST OF OTTOMAN SULTANS 1373-1543

Murad I 1362-1389  
 Bayezid I 1389-1402  
 Suleyman Çelebi 1402-1411  
 Musa Çelebi 1411-1413  
 Mehmed I 1413-1421  
 Mustafa Düzme 1421-1422  
 Murad II 1421-1444; 1446-1451  
 Mustafa Küçük 1422-1423  
 Mehmed II 1444-1446; 1451-1481  
 Bayezid II 1481-1512  
 Selim I 1512-1520  
 Suleyman I 1520-1566

## LIST OF POPES 1373-1543

Gregory XI December 1370-1378  
 Urban VI 1378-1389  
 Boniface IX 1389-1404  
 Innocent VII 1404-1406  
 Gregory XII 1406-1415  
 [Clement VII 1378-1394]  
 [Benedict XIII 1394-1423]  
 [Alexander V 1409-1410]  
 [John XXIII 1410-1415]  
 Martin V 1417-1431  
 Eugene IV 1431-1447

[Felix V 1439-1449]  
 Nicholas V 1447-1455  
 Callixtus III 1455-1458  
 Pius II 1458-1464  
 Paul II 1464-1471  
 Sixtus IV 1471-1484  
 Innocent VIII 1484-1492  
 Alexander VI 1492-1503  
 Pius III 1503  
 Julius II 1503-1513  
 Leo X 1513-1521  
 Adrian VI 1522-1523  
 Clement VII 1523-1534  
 Paul III 1534-1549

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